

ПЪРВИ МЕЖДУНАРОДЕН КОНГРЕС ПО БЪЛАРИСТИКА

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ДОКЛАДИ

СИМПОЗИУМ
СЛАВЯНИ И ПРАБЪЛГАРИ

БЪЛГАРСКА АКАДЕМИЯ НА НАУКИТЕ

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СИМПОЗИУМ "СЛАВЯНИ И ПРАБЪЛГАРИ"

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THRACIANS ON THE ISLAND OF CYPRUS

One of the three components which contributed towards the formation of a Bulgarian national identity and the first Bulgarian State in 681 A. C. were the Thracians. In their capacity of renowned warriors they were used by their conquerors as mercenaries in military campaigns for beyond the Thracian territory.¹ In the present study we are going to follow them on their long journey to the island of Cyprus.

Situated at the easternmost part of the Mediterranean Cyprus was always an apple of discord between the ancient powers. The island was, and still is, a base for commercial and military enterprises. Its wealth of copper ore and abundance of timber suitable for shipbuilding were two other main factors which played a decisive role for the island's destiny. Oriental and western cultures met here and influenced one another. Cyprus was often a battlefield for internal conflicts, but most strife was directed towards the liberation of the island. In one such situation during the reign of Evagoras I of Salamis (411-386 B. C.), Thracian mercenaries were involved for the first time. Later on, during the wars for sup-

remacy over Cyprus between the Successors of Alexander the Great, particularly during the Ptolemaic domination (294-58 B. C.) of the island, more and more Thracians were involved to the extent of forming a *χοιῶν* (regiment).²

Evidence for the earliest Thracian presence on the island is a funerary stele, accidentally uncovered in 1936 near the village of Lysi. The village is half-way between Salamis and Kition (today the towns of Famagusta and Larnaca). (Plate 1). It represents a warrior carved in a hard marble-like Cypriote limestone. According to art historians the workmanship is Cypriote and of the highest quality both in local or in wider Greek terms.³ The stele, of which both extremities are missing is 76 cm. high and 55 cm. wide. The surface of the relief and some of the warrior's features are defaced.

The warrior is shown in three-quarter view facing left; he is fully armed, wears a metal helmet with a ponytail crest; and his body is protected by a close fitting corselet in his right hand he holds a lance and in his left a round shield which forms a background for the body. The hilt and upper part of the sword tucked under his left arm, hanging from a strap which passes over his shoulder are visible. To the right of the head is a Greek inscription reading

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟ (-)
ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝΟ (-)

The final letters are missing. Most probably the inscription was originally in the genitive, which is the normal formula.⁴ We learn that the warrior, called Dionysos, is from Kardia, situated on the north coast of the Thracian Chersonese.⁵ This is the only case where we have not only the ethnic origin of the dead warrior but his home town as well. In view of the above and considering the quality of the funerary monument we must conclude that Dionysios was a very important person.

Dikaïos dates the stele on stylistic grounds to the first half of the V century B. C. and associates its erection with the troubled times during the Persian wars. In fact, Mitford attributed the inscription to the third century B. C. in which case it must be a secondary addition to the monument.⁶ It is rather difficult to accept the coincidence that a Thracian warrior in Thracian armour could be found two hundred years later to serve as a stele for a man coming from Kardia.

In a major publication of the monument by Veronica Wilson "Dionysios of Kardia" has been identified as possibly one of the Thracian warriors who came to Cyprus under Chabrias in 388 to 387 B. C. and was killed near Lysi, where the battle between Greek Salamis and Phoenician Kition probably took place.⁷ The early IV century B. C. is the most likely date considering that the monument is the work of a Cypriote sculptor working far away from the

Greek classical centres, ignoring the developments of his time. This is possible because the island was isolated from Greece during the Persian domination.

The second monument proving the Thracian presence on the island during the Hellenistic period was found in 1975 during excavations of our department at the site of the ancient city - Kingdom of Amathus, east of Limassol town⁸ (Plate 2). The stele was discovered next to an important built tomb and was used along with other slabs to cover a shaft tomb of unknown date. It is a plain rectangular slab of hard yellowish limestone with the lower part missing. Its present height is 67 cm. and its width 23 cm. The inscription written in Greek capital letters set in three lines reads

ΓΛΑΥ

ΚΙΑΣ

ΘΡΑΙΞ

The stele is dated on epigraphic evidence towards the end of the IV century or the beginning of the third century B. C. This is the period when the Cypriote Kingdoms were abolished and the wars for supremacy over Cyprus between Ptolemacos and Antigonos followed by his son Demetrios Poliorcetes. It is probable that Glafkias, a Thracian warrior, was killed and buried in Amathus during this period. This new discovery proves a Thracian presence in areas other than Salamis and Kitium where it was previously well known.

Another slab used as a grave marker, which was found at Larnaca in 1395, demonstrates that Thracian mercenaries were also engaged in Kition. This funerary stele constitutes a collective epitaph of mercenaries who were killed in Kition during the Ptolemaic domination.⁹ The type of the letters is not contradictory to this period. The inscription written in Greek capital letters set in eight lines reads

Ἀγέμαχ(ος)
Θεσσαλός(ς)
Κάλλιππος(ς)
Καρύστιος(ς)
Τέρπνο(ς)
Θρᾷξ
Ἀγαθοκλ(ῆς)
Ἀσπένδιος

The third mercenary namely Terpnos is a Thracian.

The only monument which speaks of a massive Thracian presence on the island was found in 1890 by the British excavations at the temenos of Zeus in Salamis. This was a pedestal of blue marble inscribed on three sides. Above and below were socketed holes for the feet of statues. Although defaced one of the inscriptions reads¹⁰

Πτολεμαῖον, βασιλέως υἱόν τόν στρατεχόν καὶ ναυάρχον
καὶ ἱεριερέα καὶ ἱερικυνηγόν, το κοινόν τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ

τασσομένων Θρακῶν καὶ τῶν συμπολιτευομένων.

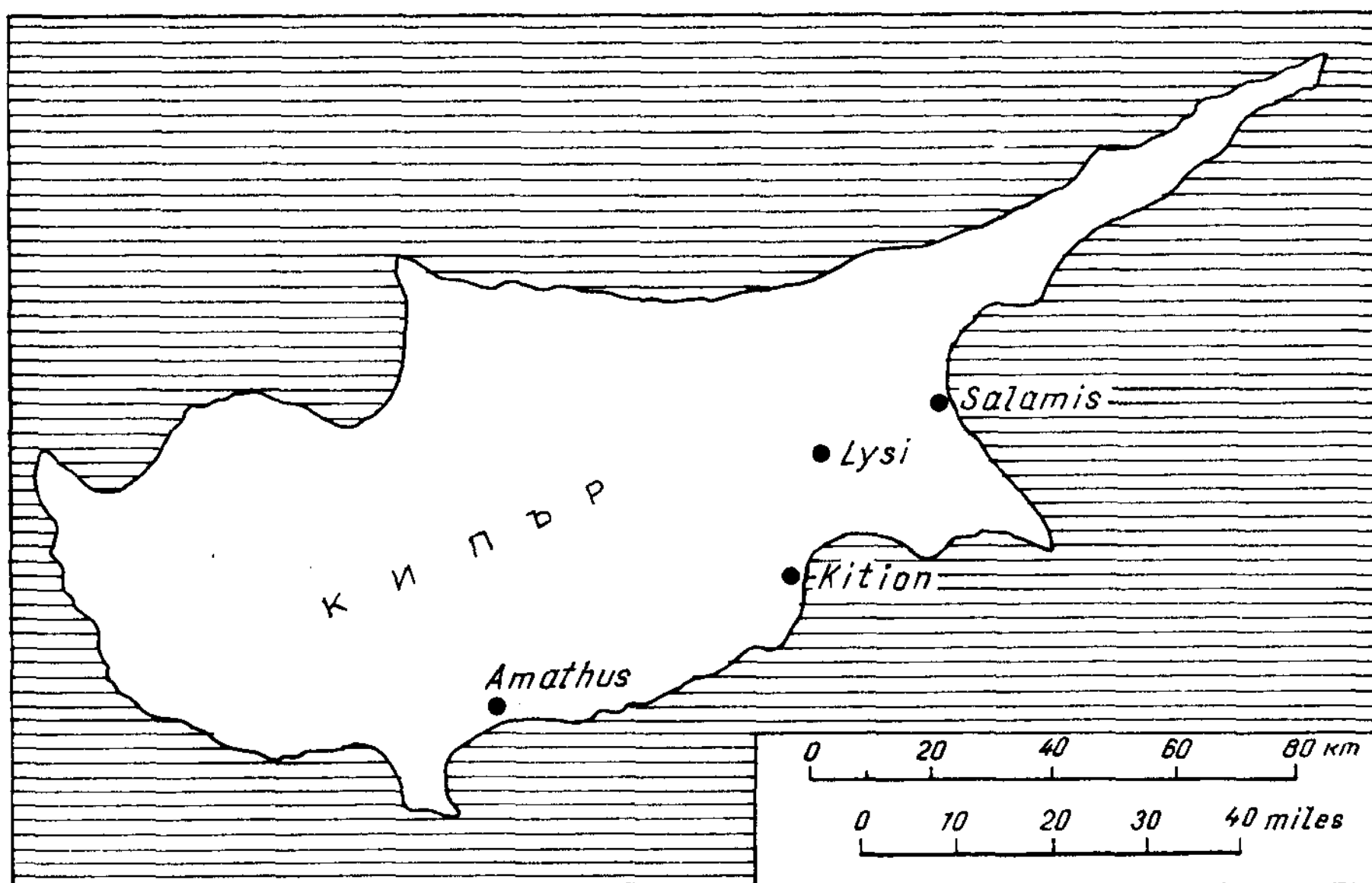
The inscription, published a year after its discovery, speaks of a Thracian Κολόν (regiment) on Cyprus during the Ptolemaic period (294-58 B. C.). The pedestal is now in Salamis, which since 1974 is under the Turkish occupation and therefore inaccessible to us.

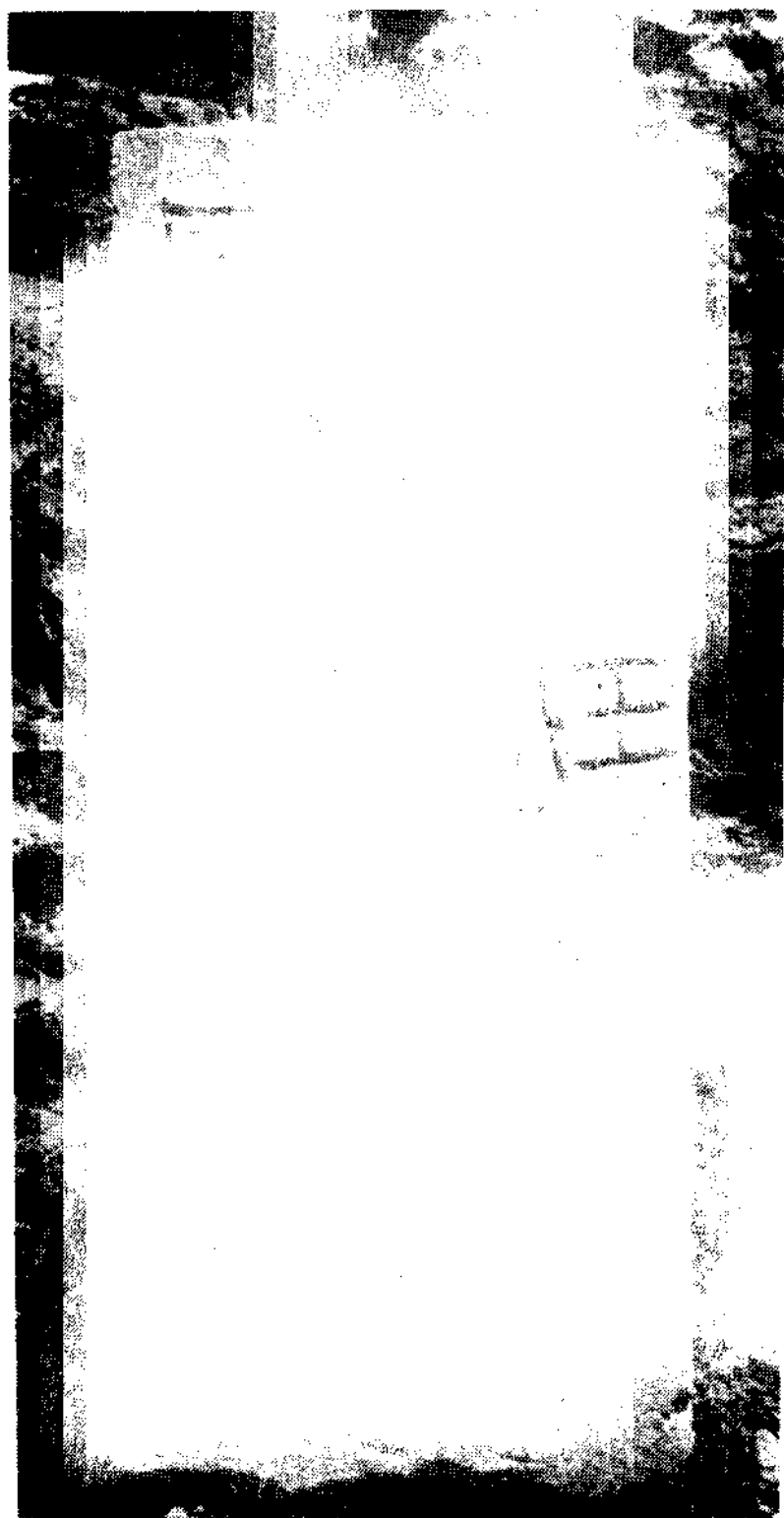
From the short archaeological and historical survey on monuments related with Thracians on the island of Cyprus, we see that for a long period of time covering more than three centuries, Thracian mercenaries were living and fighting in Cyprus. Sometimes for the liberation of the island, as did Dionysios of Kardias at other for the sake of their masters who sought to gain supremacy over Cyprus. In any event Thracians were in Cyprus over a long period. Whether some of them went back to their country or they remained for ever on the island is something we will never know.

N O T E S

1. Thucydides IV. 129. 2, V. 6. 2, 4.
2. Hill, G., A History of Cyprus, vol. I, Cambridge, 1949.
3. Vermeule, C., Greek and Roman Cyprus, Boston, 1976, pp. 27, 28.
4. Wilson, V., The Lysi warrior relief, RDAC, 1970, pp. 103-111.

5. Danov, C., *Ancient Thrace*, Sofia, 1968, pp. 252, 323.
6. Dikaios, P., *A Guide to the Cyprus Museum*, 3rd edition, Nicosia, 1961 and RDAC, 1936 pp. 108-109.
7. Wilson, V., *op. cit.*
8. This stele is published here for the first time. The information concerning its discovery was kindly given to me by my colleague Mr. M. Loulloupis who is excavating the site of Amathus.
9. BCH, 1896, p. 338. The stele belongs to a private collection and for various reasons is not accessible to us.
10. JHS XII, 1891, p. 195.





ΑΓΕΜΑΧ
ΕΣΣΑΛΟ
ΛΛΙΠΠΟ
ΑΡΥΣΤΙΟ
ΠΝΟΣ
ΑΙΞ
ΑΘΟΚΑ
ΤΕΝΔΙΟΣ

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΥΙΟΝ
ΤΟΝΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΝ ΚΑΙΝΑΥΑΡΧΟΝ
ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΚΥΝΗΓΟΝ
ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΚΥΠΡΩΙ
ΤΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΘΡΑΙΚΩΝ
ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΜΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΩΝ

T. HAYASHI

(Japan)

PROCESSES OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF
THE NOMADS IN THE EAST AND THE WEST OF THE
EURASIAN STEPPES

From ancient times in the Eurasian steppes rose and fell various nomadic empires: Hsiung-nu, Sien-bi, Juan-juan, T'u-chüeh, Uyghurs, Ch'i-tan - in the east; Scythians, Huns, Alans, Avars, Protobulgars, Khazars - in the west. Can't we find out any socio-economical and political developments in the history of these nomadic peoples? In Japan I have studied the history of the nomads in the eastern part of the Eurasian steppes. In this paper I will mainly treat of it, and in conclusion will compare it with the history of the Bulgars.

Nomadic production was unstable and limited. The state which was only based on the nomadic production could not exist. Therefore it was necessary for nomadic empires' maintenance and strengthening to expand other economical activities: plunder, trade, agriculture, handicrafts.

Hsiung-nu, the first nomadic empire in the eastern part of the Eurasian steppes, very often invaded and plundered the northern frontier of Han-China. It seems that the word of "plunder" suggests gold treasures and

silk goods. However according to the Chinese historical sources, the objects of their plunders were exclusively livestock and human beings. Also in the battles with Chinese army Hsiung-nu brought many Chinese captives to their territory. Besides these some of villagers of the frontier who did not endure the painful poor life ran away to the territory of Hsiung-nu. The purpose of the Great Wall was not only to defend the state against barbarians' invasions, but also to prevent the Chinese peasants from running away.

What did they do in the territory of Hsiung-nu? I think many of them were engaged in agriculture and handicrafts. Soviet archaeologists excavated Ivolga "gorodisce" of the Hsiung-nu period in Transbaikalia. There were discovered the bone tools and the fragments of earthenware with Chinese hieroglyphs, and grey pottery which is just like Han-Chinese one. While S. V. Kiselyov presumed that the inhabitants of this "gorodisce" were the settled Hsiung-nu, A. D. Davydova rightly considered them as the Chinese in her first report. It is very often seen that nomadic empires removed Chinese inhabitants to the far northern area (for example, Sien-bi, To-ba Wei, Ch'i-tan Liao). Ivolga "gorodisce" was a center of agriculture and handicrafts in the northern territory of Hsiung-nu but its existence did not last long maybe because of its unsuitable conditions for agriculture and the collapse of the Hsiung-nu Empire.

After the Hsiung-nu period agriculture did not develop so much and big walled cities were not built.

Above-mentioned situation continued till T'u-chüeh period. In the meantime some rulers attempted to build walled cities. But their intentions were not realized, because they were firmly opposed by aristocracy who did not desire to forsake their independent life in vast steppes. For instance, Bilgä Qaghan (716?-734) of the Second T'u-chüeh Khanate desired to build a walled city just like Chinese one. But the prime minister Köl Tegin remonstrated against him and explained: although the population of T'u-chüeh is smaller than one province of China, T'u-chüeh is equal to T'ang Empire in military affaire, because T'u-chüeh people are nomads and combatants, and if they have a walled city and rely on it, they can not oppose Chinese army.

This situation completely changed, when the Uyghur Khanate was found. The second (but the founder in fact) Qaghan Ko-lê (747-759; also called Mo-yen-ch'o) ordered the Soghdians and the Chinese to build two walled cities: Ordu-baligh and Bay-baligh. "Gorodisce" Por-bazhin in Western Tuva which was investigated by the Soviet archaeologist S. I. Vainstein was built probably also during his reign. According to the Islamic traveller Tamim ibn-Sahr agricultural fields spreaded out around the capital, Ordu-baligh. S. V. Kiselyov found agricultu-

ral sites in Kara-balgasun (Ordu-baligh).

Between the Uyghur Khanate and the previous nomadic empires there were also other differences: settling down of the ruling class, conversion from the primitive shamanism to Manichaeism, centralization of the power. The difference is seen also in their foreign policy. The Uyghurs invaded China only once during the Khanate's existence (744-840). On the other hand the Khanate expanded the silk-horse barter trade with T'ang-China. Of course the previous nomadic empires traded with China, but their quantities are not to be compared with the trade quantity by the Uyghurs. The ruling class of the Uyghurs preferred the beneficial trade to the risky plunders. The third Qaghan Mou-yü (759-779) was warlike. He invaded Northern China and plundered livestock in the year of 778. In the next year he intended to invade China with a larger force. His prime minister, Chieh Yü-ch'ieh-ssu remonstrated against the reckless invasion but the Qaghan did not accept the advice, and then the prime minister raised a coup d'etat and killed the Qaghan. Thus the ruling class of the Uyghurs selected not a plunder but a trade. However the refusal of plunders resulted in cutting off a supply source of peasants. In order to resolve this consistency it was necessary for a nomadic empire to get a better agricultural zone with peasants in its own territory. Thus the Ch'i-tan Empire Liao (916-1125) deprived Northern China of some provinces.

In other words; the Uyghur Khanate got out of the stage of tribal union and prepared for a state system, and then Ch'i-tan Empire accomplished it.

Can we observe a similar process of the historical development in the history of the western part of the Eurasian steppes, too? I think the Protobulgars and the Khazars are corresponding to the Uyghurs. The Khazars built their capital, Itil on the delta of the Volga and promoted trade activities. The Asparuh's Protobulgars who had more or less experienced a settled way of life migrated to the Lower Danube and also built cities. The First Bulgarian State basically attempted to hold friendly relations with the Byzantine Empire and expanded trade relations. Khan Tervel (701-718) concluded a treaty with Theodosius III (715-717). According to the fourth clause of the treaty the two states were obliged to seal every trade goods. By the way the Bulgarian State could collect taxes. It means the First Bulgarian State attached importance to the trade. The following Bulgarian Khans, especially Krum (803-814), Omurtag (814-831), Presian (836-852) attempted to annex whole Thrace and Macedonia and controlled the Slavs who had already become settled agricultural people. In this sense we can consider the First Bulgarian State as a parallel to the Uyghur Khanate and the Ch'i-tan Empire Liao.

Болгары же обратились к кагану с жалобой на византийцев, нарушивших мир. На этот раз каган уже не довольствовался тем, что его подданные вернулись к нему. Несмотря на все дипломатические ухищрения Петра, ему удалось умиловить великого кагана лишь ценой богатых даров и уступки части военной добычи.

I. BOBA

(USA)

THE PANNONIAN ONOGURS, KHAN KRUM AND THE FORMATION OF THE BULGARIAN AND HUNGARIAN POLITIES

The beginning of the political entity that appeared on the Lower Danube in 861 and become known to the Byzantine writers as "Bulgaria" go back at least to 632. It was at this time that Kubrat organized in the vicinity of the Sea of Azov several lesser federations of mainly Altaic clans into a polity in which the "Onogoundoroi" (Nikephorus 24, 10.) played a leading role. The "Onogoundoroi" are being referred in some other sources under the name of "Onoguroi".

Upon Kubrat's death the mainstay of his power - the fighting men, servants and cattle - was divided, according to the inheritance practices prevailing in pastoral societies, among his five sons. The military strength of the divided patrimony having been weakened, the neighboring realm of the Khazars succeeded in dispersing the five families of Kubrat's clan. Four of the defeated brothers escaped and resettled in the Balkans and Central Europe. They probably lost most of their cattle but took with them their fighting men and their servants, and restored a political existence as independent entities, or

associated themselves with other existing polities. The fifth brother joined the Khazar federation.

The division of Kubrat's realm was in principle not different from the division of the retainers of, and territories controlled by, Clovis, or the periodical redistribution of the lands and subjects of the Piast clan of Poland before 1300. As in the case of the Merovingians, Piasts and other patrimonial realms of the early Middle Ages, there was a definite political continuity between the realm of Kubrat on the Azov and the realm on the Lower Danube of his third son Asparukh. This is attested by the very fact that Theophanes (ca. 813) named the territory from which Asparukh came "palatia Boulgaria y megaly", i.e. the old, "great" or first, in contrast to Bulgaria on the Danube of his own times, for which on occasions the term "Bulgaria minor" was used (for the use of "megaly" in the sense "first, old, removed by one generation", cf. Boba; "Moravia's History Reconsidered", pp. 82-83).

The legal continuity of early medieval polities is evident not from the permanency of a homeland of the constituent clans, but from the continuity of respective ruling families. In other terms, during the early middle ages political formations could move from place to place, from "old" to "new", the legal continuity for the "mobile polity" being carried by the clan or family in the leadership position (cf. e.g. the leading clans of the Visigoths,

Vandals, Lombards, Avars, each of the in control of a federation of changing ethnic composition, yet periodically relocating the center of their realm).

It was also Theophanes who, among the Byzantine writers, used for the Danubian Bulgars not only the name forms "Boulgaria, Boulgaroi", but also a combined definition "Onogoundouroi Boulgaroi", attesting again to the political continuity between the polity of Kubrat led by the clans of the "Onogundoroi/Onogurs", and the Danubian Bulgars of his own times.

The territory on the Lower Danube was occupied and organized into a new realm under Asparukh, son of Kubrat moved with his clan and retainers ca. 670-680 into Pannonia, where he continued to control his share of the Onogurs/Onogundurs in association with the Avars (Theophanes, Bonn, pp. 446-9). The Onogur-Bulgars of Kubrat's youngest son, as confederates of the Avars, controlled most probably the south-eastern part of Pannonias and territories along the Southern Morava River, toward the Varder river, with a center in Sirmium, as attested by the name Onogoria used for Sirmium.

The political consciousness of the Pannonian Onogurs, like that of the "Bulgars" on the Lower Danube, was based on loyalty to their respective ruling families, both descending from Kubrat. A dynastic-political continuity of the Danubian Onogur-Bulgars is evident from a

preserved list of a their khans in a genealogical order from a certain Avitochol. The list was composed apparently before the times of Krum, since he is not included into the list. There is no such genealogical list for the Pannonian Onogurs, but there is evidence that Asparukh, the founder of the realm on the Danube, and the leader of the Pannonian Bulgars were brothers. Furthermore, there is reason to assume that the Pannonian Onogurs had an "oral history" of their khan's ancestry even ca. 800, when the Avar-led federation was defeated and the Onogur-Bulgars removed themselves from Pannonia (ca. 803). Support for such an assumption is provided by ethnology.

It is a well-known fact that families and clans in illiterate societies keep the memory of their ancestors alive for several generations. "Even today many Montenegrin elders are able to recollect orally through twelve or more descending generations in their respective patriline" (Barbara Kerevsky-Halpern in "Balkan Studies", 1978, p. 216). "Unter den Nomaden kannte jeder seine Abstammung bis ins siebente Glied. Den Untersuchungen im 19. Jahrhundert nach habe manche die Namen von 14 Urahnen festgehalten und auch die wichtigsten Taten gekannt" (Perenyi in "Studia Slavica" 22 , 1976, p. 361). In the case of the first known "dynasties" of early medieval polities the length of the list of the generations in the ruling clan or family expresses the actual continued existence of the controlled

polities (cf., e.g. the Ruriks or Piasts). Therefore, one may assume, that not only the Danubian Bulgars but also the Pannonian Onogurs could well remember that their leading clan's ancestry goes back to Kubrat. This consciousness of dynastic continuity could prompt the Pannonian Onogurs to seek after their defection from the Avar federation a new association, on legal basis, with their cousins accross the Danube. Such a course of events could explain the sudden change of the ruling family among the Danubian Bulgars. Here the family of Asparukh was replaced in 803 by a ceratin Krum.

Krum's ethnic identity or political associations prior to 803 is still subject of speculations. Mutaicev, Palauzov and Ostrogorsky, among others, have suggested that Krum was the leader of the Pannonian Onogur-Bulgars, but their opinion, although very persvasive and apparently correct, has not been supported by viable evidence. For the Pannonian homeland of Krum a set of logical arguments was asembled and presented in 1979 by Peter Koledarov ("Politiceska geografiia na srednowekovната Bulgarska Lrzava", vol. 1, pp. 11-13, 16-20, 32-36 etc.). One must take note of the fact that Krum, the founder of the new family of Khans, could not have been a stranger to the Danubian Bulgars. If he had conquered Bulgaria on the Danube as a stranger to the Bulgars, then the Byzantines would have given the conquered territory a new definition based

on the name of the polity of the conquerors. However, a change of leadership inside the polity could have occurred in the form of a family feud and subsequent "coup d'etat". In other terms, the Onogurs who defected from the Avar federation as a result of defeats at the hand of Charlemagne's forces in 795-803 moved across the Danube, as sources attest, to the steppes between the Danube and the Tisza and parts of present-day Transylvania, and joined the federation of their former ethnic and political associates, the Danubian Onogur-Bulgars. Since the leading clans of the two neighbouring polities were related, the Khan of the Pannonian Onogurs could claim the right to lead the federation if opportunity presented itself. From the point of view of the boyars of both subdivisions of the new federation, and from the point of view of the Byzantine court, the change of leadership was a family affair, hence the continued use of the term "Bulgaria" for the realm, and "Bulgaroi or Onogundur/Bulgaroi" for its people.

An argument in favour of identifying Krum with the leader of the Pannonian Onogurs is provided by a letter written in 917/920 by Nikolas Mystikos, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Symeon, Czar of the Bulgars:

"In the past the Persian army was encamped under these walls (i.e. Constantinople)... but they were destroyed and only their name is now remembered... But

even before the Persians the Avars, whose descendants you are, attacked this great city for a long time... But they were destroyed, and nothing whatever remains of them" (P. G., vol. III, p. 81).

Since the addressee of the letter was Symeon, a descendant of Krum and not of Asparukh, the remark that Symeon's family or forces (note the plural "descendants you are") had Avar ancestry may reflect that the court in Byzantium was aware of Krum's Avar associations before he assumed leadership of the Danubian Bulgars.

The "Avar" descendancy of Symeon could not have been an ethnic or genealogical one, because, in the words of Nikolas Mystikos, "nothing whatever remains of them". Since the Avars have disappeared, Symeon's "descendancy" must refer to his ancestors' political association with the former Avar federation. The well-informed Byzantine Patriarch, with access to court documents and written histories, would not have associated Symeon with the Avars, if Symeon had been a descendant of the Asparukh family, and not of the Krum branch of the Kubrat clan. Indeed, the Bulgars, who, according to Moravcsik's listing, appear in the sources under fifteen different ethnic or political names, never appear as Avars, and the Avars never appear as Bulgars. Furthermore, a defeated "ethnic" Avar leader could have hardly gained the upper hand over an intact Bulgar army, or have gained acceptance as "khan of the Bul-

gars", while the Onogurs, who escaped defeat, could have been a welcome new component to the existing Bulgar-Slav federation in need of added strength in the face of a Frankish military advance toward the Balkan interior and also against Byzantium.

The deprecatory association by Nikolas Mystikos of Symeon with the Avars reflects only the fact that Krum was once part of the Avar federation before he assumed a role in the federation of the Danubian Bulgars. The Patriarch's message contained in the recalling the past political associations of Symeon's ancestry amounted to a warning that Symeon's realm might expect a fate similar to that of the Avars.

The sudden outburst of military activity on the part of Krum (ca. 804-814) may be explained by the virtual doubling of his forces due to the merger of the Pannonian Onogurs with the Danubian Bulgars. Krum was able to inflict several decisive defeats upon the Byzantine armies. He made a drinking cup out of Emperor Nikephor's skull. The Chronicle of "Anonymus Belae Regis" knows a certain "Keanus magnus dux Bulgariae" in control of the territories between the Danube and Tisza rivers and of the foothills of the Northern and Transylvanian Carpathians, the regions to which the Pannonian Onogurs retreated after the dissolution of the Avar federation. Since "Keanus" was, indeed, "dux Bulgariae", who ruled after

the defeat of the Avars, he must be the person known to the Byzantines under his personal name of Krum. The term "magnus" in Krum's title has the meaning "the old, the first", i.e. the oldest or first in the new family of rulers. The same "Anonymus" relates that the Hungarians of Arpad met in the Carpathian Basin, east of the Danube, and in the foothills of the Northern Carpathians, the "Sclavi de terra Bulgariae", transplanted there by "Keanus magnus dux Bulgariae", obviously, from Bulgaria proper, after the merger of his new acquisitions in the Carpathian Basin with his "inheritance" of Bulgaria proper along the Lower Danube.

A descendant of Keanus, dux Salanus, was in control of the foothills of the Carpathians at the time of the arrival of the federation led by Arpad. This dux Salanus is referred to by Anonymus Belae Regis both as descendant of Keanus, and as a relative of the "dux" of the Danubian Bulgars as of 895. Salanus, therefore, was a "dux" over a patrimonial share of the realm created by Keanus ca. 805. Salanus fled to Bulgaria proper, but his "Slavs from Bulgaria" accepted Arpad as their lord and leader. At that juncture, most probably, the Greeks, Franks and Slavs begun to name their new neighbours "Oungroi, Ungari, and Vengri", name forms derived from the alternate name of the Bulgars; Onogurs.

The name forms "Oungroi", "Ungari", etc. for

the entire federation of clans settling in the Carpathian Basin after 895 reflect the name of only one component part of the federation, namely that of the Onogurs. In addition to the Onogurs, the federation was composed of Uralic (Finno-Ugric) Megyers and of Iranian Kavars (Kavaroi). Some oriental (Persian and Arab), Byzantine and Western (Latin and Slavic) sources seem to support the argument that the merger of the Onogurs with a people known as Majgharijja occurred only shortly before 890 (Boba, "Nomads, Northmen and Slavs", pp. 77-101). Some new groups that attestedly joined the federation after 895 could well have been the military contingents of Salaranus or of other Onogundur-Bulgars (cf. the "Black Bulgars"). For that possibility there is argument based on the information provided by "Anonymus Belae Regis", that the people who entered Transylvania and subsequently settled in Pannonia only in the Carpathian Basin received the name of "Hungari". Prior to the final formation of the federation led by Almos and subsequently by Arpad the people of a certain Levedias, who are to be associated with the Finno-Ugric ethnic component of the federation, were still known to Constantine Porphyrogenitus as "Non-Turks" (i.e. a people not related to the Altaic Onogurs).

While the people of Levedias were still around the Volga River ca. 880-890, there were Onogurs active in the Carpathian Basin and in Bavaria at least since 863.

Onogurs were active in the vicinity of the Lower Danube, most probably, since 811 (cf. Boba, op. cit., pp. 79-80). Their presence in the Carpathian Basin and adjacent regions is attested for the entire ninth century. Liutprand (I. 5, 13) knew that the Frankish realm was separated from the "Ungari" by some artificial obstacles, a defense line. Such was the situation during the lifetime Emperor Leo and before the fall of Moravia, hence before the settlement in the Carpathian Basin of Arpad's recently constituted federation of clans. The defense line was constructed by Charlemagne (Vidikund I, 19), obviously after the Frankish-Bavarian conquest of Pannonias, the hills of Transdanubia and parts of the Danube being the new frontier. Hence a political power east of the Frankish and Moravian realms, across the "clusae" or "opus", could only have been represented by the remnants of the Avar federation, namely the "Ungari" of Liutprand. These "Ungari" were invited by the Franks to fight against the Moravians on short notice, hence they could not have been from a remote location. Naturally, these invitations had to be facilitated by the removal of the defense lines, as was done by Arnulf and reported by Liutprand. The "Ungari" expelled by Charlemagne and the "Ungari" invited on short notice by Arnulf against the Moravians could not have been other than the Onogurs of the former Avar federation, the people of Krum east of the Danube and some splinter

groups east and north of the Carpathians.

The Annals of Fulda, one of the best sources for the study of the ninth century developments in the Carpathian Basin, refers to the "Ungari" of Liutprand under the name of "Avari" or "Avari qui Ungari discuntur". Both forms, used interchangeably, reflect the fact that the "Ungari" were once part of the "Avar" federation (s.a. 894, 895, 896, and 900). In addition, Onogurs were active inside Bavaria in 862, 881, and possibly in 882, while the political formation associated with the name of Levedi shortly before 895 was still east of the Don while the clans of Almos were somewhere between the Dnieper and the Lower Danube. (For details, see my "Ethnogenesis of the Hungarians...", Ferdinandy Festschrift, 1972, pp. 211-216.) The merger of the Finno-Ugric Megyers with the Onogur-Bulgars is reflected in the fact that the tribal federation that settled about 895 in the Carpathian Basin is referred to in sources by outsiders by the name of the component known to them from earlier encounters, namely as Onogurs (cf. my book "Nomads, Northmen and Slavs", pp. 74-84.).

It appears than reasonable to assume that the Danubian Bulgars and the Onogurs of Pannonia, both descending from the Onogurs of Kubrat, were united once again by Khan Krum in 803/804. Part of that reconstituted federation, and possibly some other Onogurs from the former

Avar federation marauding outside and inside the Carpathian Basin, joined up with the forces of Almos and Arpad. Thus the name-forms "Ungari", "Ungri", "Hungarians", "Ungroi", "Wengry", "Ugri" etc. reflect the presence of a strong Bulgar-Onogur component in the medieval "magyar" political "natio"; the "Natio Hungarica".

This brief survey of the common roots of the earliest history of the modern Bulgarian and Hungarian nations did not consider the role played in the ninth century developments in the Carpathian Basin by the political realm referred to as Moravia. Tatishchev has brought to the attention of scholars the need to study the close association between Bulgars and the Moravians. A close scrutiny of the sources, in fact, would reveal the involvement of the Moravians in the history both of the Danubian Bulgars and of the Pannonian Onogurs before and after 895.

ПЪРВИ МЕЖДУНАРОДЕН КОНГРЕС ПО БЪЛАРИСТИКА
СОФИЯ 23 МАЙ-3 ЮНИ 1981



ДОКЛАДИ

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БЪЛГАРСКАТА ЛИТЕРАТУРА В ЕВРОПЕЙСКИЯ И СВЕТОВЕН КОНТЕКСТ

БЪЛГАРСКА АКАДЕМИЯ НА НАУКИТЕ
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София, 23 май – 3 юни 1981 г.

ДОКЛАДИ

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БЪЛГАРСКАТА ЛИТЕРАТУРА И СВЕТОВНИЯТ ЛИТЕРАТУРЕН ПРОЦЕС

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S. KUMAR VIJ

(India)

SPANISH CIVIL WAR IN THE WORKS OF

ERNEST HEMINGWAY AND DIMITER DIMOV

The civil war in Spain inflamed the imagination of writers the world over, as no other civil war has done, because in it the progressive mankind saw a fight for "human dignity", to use Einstein's phrase. As the Spanish Republic was challenged by the growing dascism, which wanted to test its new war machinery in preparation of the holocaust of the Second World War, sensative and progressive people, the world over came to the Republic's support. "The conscience of the world wanted to rescue the Republic, and obscurantism wanted to overthrow it", says Dimov in his novel "Damned Souls".

Ernest Hemingway in America and Dimiter Dimov in Bulgaria are among scores of writers who wrote to defend the Republic, to defend "human dignity" against the forces of "obscurantism", against fascism. Hemingway wrote a novel, "For Whom the Bell Tolls" and a play, "The Fifth Column". Dimov wrote a novel, "Damned Souls" and a play, "Rest in Arco Iris". Before the civil war in Spain Hemingway had written books on Spain and war; however the war in Spain changed his views both on war and Spain. Spain cesses to

be the Spain of Pampalona Fiesta, of dangerous and passionate bullfighting. The old romantic Spain is dead. In the new Spain human destiny is being decided as awakened masses struggle against the menace of fascism. Heroes of the new Spain are simple peasants. The war also, now, is not merely blind and meaningless killing. It has now acquired a meaning. Those, who kill know whom and why they are killing. They kill so that "all may live". If in "Farewell to Arms" the opposing soldiers are bound by their common hatred for the warmakers, in "For Whom the Bell Tolls" they fight, atleast the republicans for something each of them personally believes in. The pessimism of the earlier novel, in which the hero makes his "separative peace" gives way to a new optimism, in which every individual is bound in a community of purpose. Each one fights for a common peace.

Hemingway's experience of the Spanish Civil War marked a new stage in the development of his art, in a further widening of his vision. His hero, though still living his own life and individually answerable for himself shares a common fate. He now has ideals, which are higher than life, for which one can lay down one's life. Both life and death, now acquire meaning. The earlier code got modified: though the end still is death, yet man

has a mission. The new code does not merely require "Dying with grace", it requires dying for a purpose.

In "Farewell to Arms" war's cruelty and meaninglessness is counterpoised to human values represented by the love of Henry and Catherine. In "For Whom the Bell Tolls" the love affair and the war are complementary. Robert Jordan has a mission to perform, both in blowing the bridge and in the psychological restoration of Maria to whom "things were done" by the fascists. If in "Farewell to Arms" the hero deserts the war for his beloved, in "The Fifth Column" Philip gives up his for the cause.

Hemingway is not a reflective writer, but a lover of action and manly sports. Therefore, we get in his novel and play not an analysis or insight into the forces responsible for the tragedy, but a statement of sympathy for the suffering. Hemingway, the man no doubt, understood the universal significance of the cause. He collected money, gave public speeches, wrote introductions to books on the subject, besides writing commentary and helping to film a propaganda documentary, "The Spanish Earth", yet in his novel and play, he does not present the struggle in its epical dimension. He concentrates on episodes, on individual acts of heroism or personal defeats. Instead of an analysis of the dilemma of the Spanish society, we have an analysis of various unsuccessful military offensives of the Republic, or a de-

tailed discussion how to blow the bridge. Indeed, the entire war, in the novel is symbolised in the bridge. "Bridge is the Republic", say Pilar. Of course Hemingway can not be blamed for not doing what he did not set out to do, but one must admit that he does not explore all the possibilities that the subject offers. Somehow, all that the war seems to mean is the proper manoeuvring of tanks and the correct use of artillery. Always a great enthusiast for method, he raises it to the level of ethics, so that the right way of doing a thing becomes the right thing to do. Fascism in Spain would have been beaten, if the Republicans knew how to fight. This limitation of the vision mars the total effect of the novel and the play. His subject matter has epical dimensions and requires a deeper and a wider treatment. Hemingway in this respect fails to do justice to spanish war. What he offers us in the novel and the play is not the sweep of history, but individual feats of heroism, single victories and defeats. The mass of people, who were the real heroes remains hidden.

Dimiter Dimov is cast in a different mould; he is reflective and philosophical. In a certain sense, he is an anti-thesis of Hemingway, both in his method and vision. These authors serve as an ideal illustration of Rahv's formulation of "Red skins and pale faces". Individual characters, with their all consuming passions are

important to Dimov, but he never lets them decide issues. His interest lies in ideas and movement of history, in "life progressing according to its inexorable laws". Like Hemingway, Dimov also wrote a novel and a play on the war in Spain. If Hemingway wrote his play under daily bombardment in the besieged city of Madrid, Dimov wrote his novel in similar circumstances. A large part of "Damned Souls" was written at the front, where Dimov had been sent to look after horses. Only a few months earlier, in march 1944 he had returned from Spain with the plot for a story, which he later turned into his famous novel "Damned Souls".

Dimov's experience of the last stage of the Second World War and the daily socialist revolution at home had the same role to play in his development, as the Spanish Civil War in that of Hemingway. On 23.4.44 he wrote to prof. Mosco Moscow:

"The story promises to come out astonishingly silly, because, at present I find myself in a maze. The Catholic-view of life of the Spanish is basically different from our, and on the other hand man can not escape from its influence. For myself, I have not been able to explain and take position" - on the subject.

The following months provided him with the framework of ideas in which to place the story. The philosophical sub-structure of "Damned Souls" was provided by the September Revolution. He owes to it both his class approach, as also the epical dimension of the novel.

"Damned Souls" is a novel about the Spanish Civil War, with hardly any description of the war. Dimov's intention is not to describe a saga of bravery and courage, but to trace the historical necessity of the doom of the ruling class, or the "sated", as he call it. War is only one of the manifestations of this process. Heredia, Fany, Murrier, Jack and Clara are all damned souls because they are the "sated", because, they belong to the "class which life itself has condemned", because, they have "broken with the meaning of life".

"I could compare the spanish church to some wondrous machine for reigning over people, which holy fathers from Vatican have brought to perfection", wrote Dimov in his travelogue "Castilian winter". In this "wondrous machine" Dimov symbolises the entire ruling class, and in the epidemic the misery of the other class, of the starving and the down trodden. It is left to the Jesuits to invent vaccines and run hospitals. Historically they have run their course, so they have no other role in this sea of misery except to bury the dead. Instead of controlling the epidemic, they only spread it further. When Fany asks Murrier to try Heredia's vaccine, he rails: "our experiments with the vaccine are down right criminal. The inoculated are reacting with high temperature and heart weakness. We are simply turning these people into virus carriers!"

He, however, agrees to carry on the experiments because he also belongs to the "sated". Another representative of the same class believes that the epidemic will of itself disappear after reaching its "climax". Obviously the "sated" have no remedy for the suffering; they only help in spreading it till Sergeant Martinez makes a bonfire of the Jesuits' hospital and take other practical measures to eradicate it.

Ostensibly the novel has very little to do with the war as such. Indeed here there are no victors and no defeated - only the proud march of history. In this Dimov differs from Hemingway, for whom there are two sides to the war and one must defeat the other. In "Damned Souls" the outcome of the war is immaterial. Heredia's defeat does not lie in the hands of the anarchists who wanted to take him away, but in the revolt of Brother Domingo, in the loss of faith in Father Olivarez and in the desertion of Gonzalez. Similarly in "Rest in Arco Iris", the issue is not if Ines, Sebastian and Father Santiago will succeed in betraying the Republicans, but in the moral regeneration of Pilar. In the return to moral health and dignity of Pilar and her deranged father lies the victory of the Republic.

Similarly, when we examine the use of love by the two authors, we get two different approaches. While Hemingway uses the love between Maria and Jordan to emphasise values of humanity, which are challenged by fascism. The

almost sublimated love experience of Maria and Robert Jordan, when contrasted with the mass raping of Maria by the fascists iterates the nobility of the republican cause. Dimov uses love relations between his characters, or rather their attempts to establish such a relation, emphasises the impossibility of establishing a normal love relation by the "sated" because of their ego and ulterior motives. Various pairs: Fany - Heredia, Fany - Murrier, Clara - Jack, Clara - Murrier, Ines - Julian, Ines - Estanislav and others make futile attempts and fail, while in Carman's pride and longing for her Hiacinto, and in Pilar's sacrifice we have a healthy and vibrating basis for relationship between man and woman.

Despite their different approaches to their subject, both writers are bound together by their humanism, by their staunch defence of the poor and the suffering, by their anger against injustice. Though Hemingway still lacks an assertive and "optimistic humanism" in that he still does not have faith in a happy future, in the final victory, yet his earlier individualistic and lonely heroes now share a common destiny with the masses. Dimov's humanism is not linked with individual fates. When he talks of individuals, he sees them as bearers of historical necessity. Though the individual may be doomed, humanity marches ahead.

G. VIJ
(India)

DEPICTION OF VILLAGERS IN THE WORKS OF
ELIN PELIN AND PREMCHAND

In one of Premchand's novels, "Love Abode", written in 1923, one of his characters say to his fellow peasants: "You people laugh as if a peasant is nothing, as if he lives only to slave for the landlord. In a newspaper which I get, it is written that in Russia peasants rule. There they do what they like. Near Russia, is another country Bulgaria. There recently, peasants have removed the king from throne and a council of peasants rules there."

The reference is to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and to the election of Alexander Stamboliiski to power in 1919 and 1920. The bulgarian farmers, who brought their party to power and the indian farmer, who rejoiced at the event, though separated by thousands of miles from each other, were yet linked in a common fate, as they lived and suffered similarly. Their writers, Premchand in India and Elin Pelin in Bulgaria wrote at about the same time, 1900-1935.¹ In both countries was a period of many important changes, especially in the villages, where a majority of people lived.

Premchand wrote at a time, when the National Independence Movement had begun to pierce through the isolation of dormant rural masses, making them a little aware

of their unenviable condition. Elin Pelin's writing falls between two important dates of bulgarian history: 1878, when Bulgaria got independence and 1944, the year of the Socialist Revolution. The most important period of Elin Pelin's writing coincides with the time when the romance of the independence struggle had given way to scepticism as the new government heaped new taxes, as the poor, down-trodden villagers realised that the only distinction the new masters had, was that they were bulgarian. Ordinary villagers, whose spirits had been awakened by the struggle for independence, had now begun to react actively to their condition and to challenge injustice. A new revolt, as yet simmering, had begun to take shape in the villager's consciousness. The sporadic revolts in bulgarian villages at the turn of the century attracted the attention of writers and thinkers to the terrible suffering of villagers. This was the time of the bulgarian narodnichestvo movement. Scores of writers and reformists got interested in the villagers' problems and suggested theories for reforms and uplift of peasants. The early writings of Elin Pelin show a marked influence of this movement. Soon, however, he grew out of this reformist trend, and as he matured, he content himself by only objectively painting the condition of the peasants, refraining from suggesting any solutions to the peasants' misery. His later and best stories present a picture of a restless mass of villagers,

suffering but not defeated, in every possible way challenging their exploiters.

Premchand's villager is different. He is passive, not merely tolerating, but often justifying his miseries and the tyrannical order. The suffering of the indian villager in the first quarter of the century resulted from his manifold slavery. First there was political slavery of the British (till 1947 India was a colony of the British). Then he was economically crushed by the landlord, the village usurer and the revenue collector. To top it all, the village priest had him trapped in a labyrinth of century old unjust and mortifying rituals and blind faith. He was, besides tied by rigid social customs, practices and divisions.² Trapped in this hopeless situation, without even the help of education, the indian villager had learnt to resign himself to his lot.

Thus, while Elin Pelin writes about the villager in the process of waking up, Premchand writes to awaken his villager from passivity. Perhaps it is for this reason that while Elin Pelin can trust his heroes to defend and fight for themselves, Premchand himself comes out to defend them and to act as their spokesman.

The two writers have realistically painted the tormentors of the poor peasants in the two countries. They are the same. In the village itself there are the revenue collectors, the village priests, the usurers and the

village mayors. In addition to them, from outside come the police and court officers, and other city officers. In their stories and novels, the two writers have given a vivid account of these villains. In Elin Pelin's story "The Other World" the thought of the cruel revenue collector haunts poor old Mateiko even in the other world, and whose very absence makes "the other world" the real heaven. Similarly in Premchand's "The Winter Night" Halku gives away the little money he had saved to buy himself a blanket to the landlord's agent and spends the cold winter night out in his field without a blanket. In his despair, he lets animals eat away his ripe harvest, because he is too cold to chase them away.

The city magistrate, who comes to confiscate a peasant's grain in Elin Pelin's "Andreshko" is another common figure. While Elin Pelin's hero gets rid of him by his cunning, Premchand's characters always have to bribe them away, even though they are innocent.

Then there is the indian zamindar or landlord and the bulgarian chorbadjia, who always find it convenient to tease and rape peasants' wives, sisters or daughters. Perhaps the cruelest of all are the village usurers: bulgarian likhvaries and indian sahumars. It is they, who make a villager's life hell. Often they are also the village priest. The memory of the priest, from whom old Mateiko had borrowed money chases him even to the next world.

In Premchand's story "A Kilo and a Quarter of Wheat" poor Shankar borrows a kilo and a quarter of wheat to entertain a "godly man" and ends up by becoming a bonded slave to another "godly man", because he could not return the small measure of wheat he had borrowed, which in seven years turned into an enormous heap, because of accumulated interest. In an Indian village, the brahmin, the "godly man", not one, but the whole community rules over other so called, lower castes, specially the "untouchables". The worst form of cruelty in indian villages then and to a large extent even now is that of brahmins and other 'higher castes' to the shudras, the "untouchables". In a very touching story, "Thakur's Well" Premchand writes about the daring attempt of an "untouchable" woman to draw water from the well of a village "high caste", because her husband is dying and the well of the "untouchables" has no pure water, She does not succeed in her attempt, and returns home to find her husband drinking the stinking water from their well. Very Often, Premchand, like Elin Pelin laughs at the hypocracies of priests, exposing their real faces behind their masks of piety.

While the exploiters and tormentors of poor villagers are the same and the two authors deal with them in a similar manner, the response of the exploited to their condition is different. They often share many qualities like simplicity, love for hard work and the instinct to

protect themselves, even with a little cunning. Yet in their vital response to their exploitation they differ. While Elin Pelin's peasants actively respond to their conditions, those of Premchand are despairing and defeated. Elin Pelin's villager struggles, sometimes by personal revenge as in "Crime, Belated Harvest", at others by cunning as in "Andreshko". The peasant may make fun of his exploiter, or as a last resort express it in total hatred for exploitation and the exploiters.

Premchand's peasant is like Elin Pelin's Bone Krainenets, helplessly watching his cow die and leaving the field unploughed. His poverty and the impossibility of extracting himself from the situation forces him to resign himself to his fate. The few pennies, that villagers collect to buy a shroud for the dead wife of the hero of "The Shroud" is too much money to be spent for the dead. So the father and the son spend it to get drunk. That at least helps a little. Similarly, in "The Winter Night" Halku lets beasts eat away his ripe crop, rather than leave his warm place near the fire. Either way his life would not change. Such is their despair. There are a few stories and novels, in which they do not accept their fate. They challenge and protest, though rarely revolt. The finest example is the novel cited at the start. This novel and a few other stories were written under the influence of October Revolution. Such protests only reflect wishful thinking on

the part of the author, and not the peasants' actual response. Such passages are not the best amongst his writing. Premchand was aware of this, and therefore in his maturest novel "Offering of a Cow", Hori, the central character dies in despair and misery. The author offers neither hope nor solution. This novel is considered to be the greatest artistic chronicle of an indian village of that time.

The growth of capitalism was another factor which was changing the face and the life style of villages. The old, simple life style was beginning to be threatened by new materialistic values. The biggest impact was on family relations. Its impact in Bulgaria was greater than in India at the time the two writers were writing. This was so, partly because indian capitalism was weaker and partly because, indian feudalism was stronger and stricter. One of the obvious results of the introduction of capitalism was that the earlier love and pleasure, with which the peasant tilled his land were now changing to bitterness and duty, to labour to produce wealth. Allientation of peasants from their land as a result of either acquisition of village land for building a factory or as a result of villagers going to cities in search of work or attracted by its pleasures, bred greater despair. This is often reflected in the devil-may-care attitude or in heavy drinking.

The two writers have written about the break down

of the old communal spirit and the growth of individualism. The concept of togetherness giving way to a passion for individual enrichment, often finding expression in the breaking of the family structure. A new generation of proletariat is born to get lost in the moral corruption of industrialising cities. These changes can be found more frequently in the works of Elin Pelin. His short novel "Geratsite" is one such moving tale of the breakdown of patriarchal life style. In the widening gap between the city and the village culture, Elin Pelin's farmers make a front against the city dweller, whom they call "pantalondjia" or the "pant man", to fight against the new corrupting influence of cities.

Premchand also shows the fight between the two cultures. His young characters also run away to cities in search of work or attracted by its pleasures, and often fall victim to its corruption.

The two writers have, in their inimitable ways understood and expressed sympathetically the reality of their villagers life. While Elin Pelin's heroes stand out for their vitality, Premchand's characters carry the irony of their age.

N O T E S

1. Elin Pelin lived from 1877 to 1949. His important stories had been written by 1914. Premchand lived from 1880 to 1936. His writing period was from 1900 to 1936.

2. Social evils about which Premchand has written are:

Caste division: Traditionally Indian society has been divided into four castes. Originally the division was on the basis of profession, but later on got frozen into rigid hierarchy. A person's position in the hierarchy was determined by his birth. The four castes are:

Brahmins: The highest caste. Its responsibility, at one time was to deal with all religious and educational matters. Later, other castes encroached upon their reserve of education, but interpretation and enforcement of religious texts and rituals continues to be the monopoly of Brahmins.

Kshatriyas: The caste of warriors. Its duty was to defend the state. All kings belonged to this caste.

Vaishyas: The caste of traders and merchants.

Shudras: the lowest caste, which had the duty of serving the other three castes. Dirtiest of all jobs like scavenging and butchery were reserved for them. They were supposed to be untouchable and were so addressed.

They were the most oppressed and had little rights.

Biradri: A concept of community in which members were rigidly required to adhere to community practices. Non adherence led to ostracism and/or exorbitant fines.

Widow-marriage: Remarriage of widows or marriage in another caste or community was strictly forbidden.

A. BANERJI

(India)

TAGORE AND BULGARIA

Thousands of kilometers separate the two countries, but in recent years India and Bulgaria have come closer than ever. Incidentally, the two countries have a similar history of centuries-long alien rule - India under the British and Bulgaria under the Ottomans and the annals of their national struggles are filled with innumerable sacrifices for independence.

Even during the dark days of foreign domination the Bulgarian people showed keen interest in the exotic land of India and nurtured great love for the people. In the distant past many travellers' stories were popular among Bulgarians and particular mention can be made of the book by Alexandrian Kozma Indikoplevat who visited India.

The first emotional contact between the two countries was established when Rabindranath Tagore paid a visit to Bulgaria in 1926 for two days, 16 and 17 November. At the invitation of the House of Arts and Press, Tagore who was then touring Europe was invited to visit Bulgaria. Mr. Dimo Kazasov, Chairman of the House and Minister of Information, accompanied Tagore during his stay in Bulgaria. Mr. Kazasov recorded a detailed account of this memorable visit thus: "With a special coach released by the

Ministry of Railways we awaited the poet at Tsaribrod, where Yugoslav authorities let us enter without Passport. I was accompanied by Prof. Assen Zlatarov, the writer Anna Kamenova, Mr. Buchkov from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Dr. Minchev. A little after our arrival in Tsaribrod the train from Belgrade carrying the poet appeared. We had been informed that Tagore was travelling in a special coach and we took our position where the coach was likely to stop. Slowly, with somewhat feminine care, the poet descended from the train followed by two ladies and two gents. Rabind anath wore a light grey robe almost reaching upto his ankles, and had a long and pointed velvet cap."

The Dragoman station on the Bulgarian side was overflowing with people and students with flowers in their hands. It was a memorable occasion for literally the whole city of Sofia turned out on the streets to welcome the great poet and philosopher from India.

The Weekly "East", in its issue of November 28, 1926 observed, "At the sight of the huge assembly of crowds in the Sofia station, it was felt with pleasure as if the religion of mankind has returned". The Weekly wrote the caption of the picture of the poet thus: "Here is a man who has witnessed the God".

To the brief address of welcome by Mr. Dimo Kazasov, Tagore replied, "I do not understand your language,

but I understood what you said. The language of beauty and love originates in the heart of the earth and reaches straight to the heart of man. We speak different tongues but with the same feelings and thoughts. We not only express them, but also share them mutually. And this is the greatest joy of our soul - joy which leads to its final emancipation."

Tagore was put up in the first floor corner room of Hotel Imperial. It was difficult for the management to ward off the swelling crowds who wanted to meet the poet.

On the next day, November 17, a public meeting was convened at the Free Theatre. Although the entry fee was kept quite high, the tickets were simply grabbed and the visitors had a hard time to enter the hall making their way through the large crowd that had gathered outside. As Tagore appeared on the stage the wood-panelled hall of the Theatre trembled at the stormy ovation from the Public.

Tagore delivered a memorable speech which shook the hearts of the Bulgarians. He said, "Europe - this is a mad house where people dance on the graves of their sons."

Tagore added, "You are a young people with a simple heart which is not yet corrupted by western civilisation. I was in countries where the physical and material are valued most and I was among the circus of naked power."

But you are a people who have a desire to become a part of the spiritual world. You are a people who believe in the ideals of the future... And I conclude you are a highly gifted people."

The poet further added, "I do not come to you as a poet and philosopher, but as a poet I wish to tell you that I am one of you. I am a poet who sings for love which I can perceive, I can feel, has filled your hearts. I come here to stress what is required to regenerate humanity and which I am an humble servant - love among the people. I belong to a nation with a young literature not overshadowed by the atmosphere of western literature which is often imposed upon the reader. I come from a country where we are nearer to nature, to the man and to the people and where more clearly and more completely we can grasp the longings and aspirations of the world. Our literature was not afraid of the critic's judgment which more often than not leads to diversion. We value the works in respect of the amount of humanism they include. We are simple, unaware of propaganda and indifferent to their clamours. Dear to us are our folk songs and our lyrics. In them we find the values which are foreign to the complicated and rich European literature.

There was a tendency in my motherland to fall in for everything which came from the West. This imitation leads to hypocrisy. My father and I were always against any-

thing implanted artificially. What I have created is entirely my own. It is sincere and I believe, it is true. Our critics did not know whether to accept or reject me. Their denial did not despair me. On the contrary, it strengthened my spirit. When I wrote my works on the banks of the Ganges, I never thought that I was writing for someone else. As a young boy I never liked school and my teachers. I was disobedient. Disobedient, because I searched for freedom.

Only in my fifties I felt a necessity to get acquainted with the outer world and one day I appeared in London with the manuscript of "Gitanjali". I read a few poems from it to an intimate group but did not notice any interest among those present. I felt humiliated and wanted to run away. Next day, however, words of praise appeared in the Press and I became known to Western readers. Nevertheless, I am a man of the East and remain an Eastern poet.

I believe that you have a great literature and rich folk poetry. I am convinced that you are not yet contaminated by the deceit and depraved skill of the West and its schools. You are not like those synthetic flowers fresh and scintillating to look at, but in fact dry and without any fragrance.

Our two peoples have this in common that they are young and for this I believe that I shall be understood by

you. I believe that great talents are hiding among your people and from my heart I wish you happiness."

After the speech, Prof. Stefanov read in Bulgarian some extracts from the "Gardener", and Rabindranath recited them in Bengali.

In response to pressing demands from all sections of the people, the talk was repeated next day. Tagore added a few words. He said, "When I arrived here I knew I have been accepted as your own poet, and felt that I have found home in your hearts, and now as the end of our meeting draws near, I prepare for the road with sincere grief. In moments when I shall have to say "goodbye" to you. I feel how strongly the reminiscences of our meeting bind me. They will remain indelible and I shall leave your country with this satisfaction that the music of something infinitely great and priceless resounds our common feelings. Though separated, I shall always remain near to you with reminiscences of such a wonderful visit.

I am not preacher, neither an orator or philosopher, I am a poet and wish to read you a few small poems which express the universal feeling for fraternity and solidarity among the people."

To the stormy applause that followed the performance which sounded more like songs than a recitation, Tagore replied:

"My words are unnecessary. I feel great joy at your

sympathy towards me. People express their sympathies through feelings which language cannot express. With such feelings I say you "goodbye" and wish your country happiness and all round prosperity."

At the banquet which the House of Arts and Press arranged at the Bulgaria Hotel Tagore replied to the toasts raised by the Chairman of the House and Prof. Ivan Sishmanov:

I do not know your language, but from the music of your words I can grasp the underlying cordial feelings. I regret very much that I had to deliver my talk in the English language and not in my own tongue. In the music of the Bengali language you would have best understood what moves me. Here I have found not only kindered hearts but also many things common and near to the Indian people, both in art and life. I shall carry this nearness to our people and shall carry this nearness and shall guard its warmth inside my heart."

Tagore left Bulgaria 55 years back, but he is still in the hearts of the Bulgarians. His words came true for them, for the world. Tagore said, "I came to Europe considering it a duty to tell the people that without friendship and understanding among the nations, the contemporary civilisation is destined to its doom. Unless better relations are established among the States, the whole world will be facing another war. The atmosphere in Europe is stifling. I am afraid that a new conflict will destroy

the whole world. A new war will not only involve Europe alone but will engulf the globe. It is necessary to do away with egoism and internal jealousy." To the Bulgarians these words sounded painful and full of unmotivated pessimism. They did not believe that people, whose scars from the last war had hardly healed, would lead themselves into it a second time. Little did they know then that the prophecy of Tagore would turn into such a tragic reality only 13 years later.

The profound wisdom expressed in the most beautiful artistic forms and sung in the most lyrical harmony deeply moved the hearts of the Bulgarian people. Mr. Boris Vaptsarov, first Deputy Minister of Education and Culture of Bulgaria opined, "To us he is a teacher of humanity and wisdom too. To us he is a teacher of the poets in artistic speech and soft lyric too."

Translations of Tagore's works have appeared in Bulgaria. Among his translated works Gitanjali is the most popular. "The Wreck" and "My Childhood" are also very popular. The Youth Publishing House published in 1960 a collection of selected short stories by Tagore under the title "Light and Shadow". Tagore Centenary was observed in Bulgaria with due eclat. A luminous edition of Gora was published on the occasion. Exhibitions of Tagore paintings are also held occasionally. Tagore's collection works in three volumes are now under preparation.

It is Tagore who first brought the message of love and peace from the East to the West. It is Tagore who built the bridges of friendship between India and Bulgaria which has been strengthened with the space of time by a number of cultural exchanges and goodwill missions of the Presidents and the Prime Ministers and other dignitaries of both the countries. In return, Bulgaria has treasured the memories of Tagore all these years through his poems, novels and short stories. It is certain that Tagore will remain immortal in Bulgaria for centuries to come.

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(Bangladesh)

BULGARIA AND BANGLADESH:

A STUDY IN LITERARY INTERACTION

Bangladesh and Bulgaria are two sovereign and independent countries, geographically far-flung and separated from each other by vast distances but who have many interesting similarities and points of contact from literary and cultural perspectives. Both countries have very ancient and glorious literary and cultural heritage, both countries experienced considerable intermingling of peoples and cultures; both suffered from a common type of colonial exploitation and foreign oppression and domination. Both Bangladesh and Bulgaria fought heroically for their liberation. In rousing national consciousness and strengthening freedom movement in both cases the love of the people for their script, language and literature played a major role. The inspiring contribution of such great Bulgarian writers as Hristo Botev, Ivan Vazov and Nikola Vaptsarov, are reminiscent of the contributions of such great Bengali writers as Mukunda Das, Rabindranath Tagore and Kazi Mazrul Islam. In a different context one notices another interesting point of contact between the two countries. In the freedom struggle of both Bulgaria and Bangladesh the Soviet Union, the first socialist

state of the world, played a significant and crucial role.

Now to elaborate some of the above points. Bulgaria is one of the oldest European states. It was founded as early as 681. Bangladesh came into existence as an independent and sovereign state only in late 1971, but it has a long history which goes back several centuries, right into the pre-Christian age. In the remote ancient days an Austro-Asian race first inhabited this land. Then came the Dravidians from western India and later the Aryans from Central Asia to establish small settlements. There was also an influx of Mongolians, some Arabs, Persians, Turks and Afghans. We learn from certain Greek sources of the 4th century B. C. that the people of this delatic region made extensive military preparations to chek the advance of Alexander the Great, had he chosen to continue his eastward march. Later records in the Asoka inscriptions, various coins, handicrafts and artifacts testify to the civilization and glorious past of Bangladesh. Still later the Muslims came to this region in the 13th century and they continued their rule here till the advent of the British in the 18th century. The British in their turn ruled the subcontinent for about 200 years, and when compelled to leave in 1947, partitioned it into India and Pakistan. Bangladesh formed the eastern wing of Pakistan. Rising against the neocolonial exploitation and autocratic domination of the Pakistani rulers the people of this region launched a liberation war in early 1971, and by the

end of the same year founded the sovereign and independent People's Republic of Bangladesh at the price of three million lives and untold suffering and miseries of many more millions.

I would like to emphasise here that the love of the people of Bangladesh for their script, language and literature played a great role in rousing the feeling of nationalism in them. The neocolonial rulers of Pakistan tried in many ways to corrupt and adulterate the Bengali script, to misinterpret the works of such great Bengali writers as Rabindranath Tagore and Kazi Mazrul Islam and to humiliate the Bengali people by refusing to accord to Bengali its rightful place as a state language, although Bengali was the mother-tongue of the majority people of the then Pakistan. These moves of the dictatorial Pakistani regime were heroically resisted by the people of this region. In 1952 in the historic Bengali Language Movement students fell martyr to the bullets of the authoritarian regime in the streets of Dacca. From then on the nationalistic resurgence gained momentum and finally after a bloody liberation war the people of Bangladesh overthrew the domination of Pakistan.

Bulgarian, more precisely the Slav-Bulgarian, state came into being in 681 when the Byzantine emperor signed a peace treaty with Asparuh in order to check the further penetration southward of the Proto-Bulgarians.

From that day her people have gone through many experiences of oppression and domination, cultural resurgence and rise of heroic nationalism and, finally, emergence into socialism. One of the most glorious chapters of early Bulgarian history is connected with the epoch-making feat of the brothers Cyril and Methodius who evolved the Slav alphabet in 855. By creating the Slav alphabet the two brothers forged an important linguistic and cultural shield that effectively barred all attempts at debilitating and corrupt foreign assimilation. It not only roused the selfawareness of the Slav peoples but also proved to be of great significance to human progress in general. The cause of the two brothers was impregnated with ideas which are still relevant and important, namely the ideas of humanism, democracy and equality of all peoples. As has been justly remarked, "Cyril and Methodius rank among the brightest minds of their times, for in the darkness of the early Middle Ages they sowed the sparks which several centuries later kindled the fire of the revolution". However, in the 14th century Bulgaria fell under the domination of the Ottoman Turks, who cruelly oppressed and exploited her people. Then the Bulgarian people passed through many vicissitudes of fortune, the trials and tribulations of two world wars, the vigorous partisan movement of 1941-1944, heroic struggle against monarcho-fascism and Nazism, and finally on September 9, 1944 they came out successful in their Pat-

riotic War and ushered in a new epoch for her people. Today Bulgaria is a highly progressive prosperous nation, dedicated to peaceful and constructive labour, vigorous in cultural pursuits and playing an important role in international affairs. In these circumstances it is only natural that this First International Congress on Bulgarian Studies should evoke such an enthusiastic response from distinguished scholars both at home and abroad.

Now let me refer to a more specific fact of interaction in the field of Bengali and Bulgarian literature. Bengali Nobel Laureate and World Poet Rabindranath Tagore visited Bulgaria in 1926. A heartwarming instance of literary and cultural contact, Tagore's visit to Bulgaria was of multidimensional significance. Only five years before Tagore's visit the Bulgarian national poet Ivan Vazov (1850-1921) had died. Vazov had combined in his works the spirit of national renaissance, revolutionary nationalism and liberal internationalism but after the first world war and the death of Vazov some individualistic writers favoured an attitude which was the very negation of the national spirit of Vazov. However, about the time that Tagore visited Bulgaria other writers like Lyudmil Stoyanov were emerging with a new voice and a new purpose, and the Bulgarian response to Tagore was influenced by those who listened to that voice and valued that purpose. Tagore of course was well-known in Bul-

garia even before his visit there. D. Maximov had translated selected poems of "Kahanika", "Kalpana" and "Sonar Tari" into Bulgarian and had published an eighty-page volume as early as 1918. Among other early translators of Tagore's poetry into Bulgarian were Methodius Vacharov, Sava Chukalov and Ivan Attimirsky. However, Tagore, besides being a great poet was also a great short story writer, novelist and playwright. And some of these works of Tagore were also translated into Bulgarian. Mention may be made here of Nikola Rainov's translation of "Ghare Baire" (The Home and the World), Vera Plotcheva's translation of "Gora", Athanas Dalchev's translation of some of Tagore's short stories and Tsvetan Dragovarov's translation of the world poets famous play "Chitrangada".

There is no denying the fact that Tagore's visit to Bulgaria exercised a perceptible impact on the Bulgarian literary and cultural ethos. Vicho Ivanov paying tribute to Tagore in an article on the poet's visit to his country has written, "The year of Tagore's short visit to Bulgaria was one of hardship and suffering for our people, but also a year of revolutionary firmness of purpose in the underground struggle against monarcho-dascism. Only a few years had elapsed since the uprising of September 1923 and only year since the April events. The prisons were full of sons and daughters of the people, the law courts all over the country echoed to the clank of prisoners'

chains and to voices of those proud men and women who were bound with them. And when the news was heard that India's great poet has set out from Prague... for Bulgaria there was not a progressive person in the country who did not welcome the news with joy." The key-word in the above quotation is progressive. That liberal, progressive and antiimperialist thoughts and ideas transcended all barriers of race, language and joy was once again demonstrated during Tagore's visit to Bulgaria in 1926.

Let me now turn to more recent times, especially in the context of present day Bangladesh, and see how Bulgarian literature in its turn has made its entry into the Bengali literary and cultural arena. During the short span of a decade that has elapsed since Bangladesh won its independence about half a dozen Bulgarian literary works have been translated into Bengali and published in Bangladesh. One should first of all mention Georgi Karaslavov's well-known novel "Tango" which was translated by Meher Kabir, a renowned translator of Bangladesh. Published in May 1975 by the country's national literary institution, the Bengali Academy, the book was dedicated to the 30th anniversary of the victory over Fascism. Next, an anthology of modern Bulgarian poetry representing the poems of thirty contemporary Bulgarian poets, translated into Bengali by the author of the present article, was published in July 1980. The book was dedicated to greater

friendship between the peoples of Bangladesh and Bulgaria. And then one should refer to the Bengali translation of Selected Poems of Nikola Vaptsarov again translated by the present author of this article, which was published in December, 1980. This book was dedicated to the 1300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state, in celebrating which occasion we are so happily present here to-day. Besides the above translations a full-length book in Bengali called "A Journey to Bulgaria" was written by Dr. Muhammad Enamul Huq, a renowned scholar of Bangladesh, following his visit to that country in 1975 on an invitation by Bulgaria's Committee of Art and Culture. The book was published in February, 1978. A book of over 200 pages in 14 chapters it is an extremely readable travelogue, informative and entertaining. Something of the range of the book can be appreciated if I mention the subject matter of some of its chapters. For example, one deals with the cultural institutions and organisations in Bulgaria, one with the author's visit to Plovdiv; one with the humorous anecdotes of Gabrovo, and one with Bulgaria's language and script. This last one which forms the 13th chapter of the book is an illuminating piece of scholarly work. It richly deserves, in my opinion, to be translated into both English and Bulgarian, for it may very well open a new channel of Bulgarian studies.

Among other Bengali works published in Bangla-

desh concerning Bulgaria and her literature are the Bengali translation of a short story by Konstantin Konstantinov, an article on modern Bulgarian poetry and an essay on Tagore and Bulgaria, all published in renowned journals and periodicals of Bangladesh.

The literary and cultural interaction between Bangladesh and Bulgaria is a continuing process which is being buttressed by such programmes, among others, as the following:

a) education of a large number of Bangladeshi students in many institutes and universities of Bulgaria, and of some Bulgarian students in Bangladesh. I personally have at the moment two Bulgarian girls in my department at the University of Dacca who are studying English literature there.

b) festival of Bulgarian and Bangladeshi films in the two countries.

c) participation of Bangladeshi writers, scholars, peace-workers and children in international conferences held in Bulgaria.

A detailed and intensive study of literary and cultural interaction between Bulgaria and Bangladesh offers an exciting challenge to both Bulgarian and Bangladeshi scholars. Such a detailed study is likely not only to bring the peoples of the two countries closer, but also to enrich the study of Bulgaristics and of Bengali tra-

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ditions and culture in an international context. The present paper does not claim to be more than an exploratory one. But it will, hopefully, arouse some interest among scholars in the topic dealt with, and that would be ample reward for me.

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SOURCES FOR THE CAREER OF
GREGORY CAMBLAK

Gregory Camblak was a well-known figure in the Orthodox world of the early fifteenth century, and also a man who has left to posterity a considerable literary output; but there is unfortunately little reliable data about the external events of his life from which to construct a biography. Such material as is available is to be found either in contemporary narrative and archival sources or in his own writings. It is proposed in this paper to examine and evaluate both these sources.

As one might expect, the most detailed information about Gregory Camblak's career in contemporary sources relates to the brief period when he was metropolitan of Kiev, from 1415-19. The circumstances of his appointment, which were both complicated and controversial, are described in detail in the Nikon Chronicle, the principal narrative source for Russian history in this period¹, and the chronicle account can be supplemented by the official letters circulated after Gregory's consecration by Photios, metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia² and Joseph, Patriarch of Constantinople³. Gregory's brief visit to the Council of Constance in February 1418 (the only public activity recorded during his metropolitanate) is also well documented, both in the account of the Council written by Ulrich Richental⁴ and in the work known as the Diary of Cardinal Fillastre⁵. Apart from these sources, the only other documents relevant for the study of Gregory Camblak's career are two letters written by Patriarch Matthew in 1401 setting out the terms of reference of a special mission to Moldavia in that year⁶. I shall now deal with each of these sources in turn.

First of all, the account of Gregory Camblak's appointment as metropolitan of Kiev, as given in the Nikon Chronicle. This describes in detail, and very vividly, the situation in Kiev in 1414-15. It traces the emergence in the city of an anti-Photian party, that is a group hostile to Metropolitan Photios, who had alienated many of the people by his financial exactions;⁷ shows the determination of Vitovt, the energetic Grand Duke of Lithuania, to have a separate Orthodox metropolitan resident in Kiev,⁸ and the reluctance of the Orthodox bishops in Lithuania to agree to the division of the All-Russian metropolitanate.⁹ The outcome of this situation was that Vitovt ordered the bishops to elect a separate metropolitan for Lithuania, and they chose Gregory Camblak.¹⁰ Vitovt then sent him to Constantinople to be consecrated by the patriarch, but Patriarch Joseph refused to perform this office.¹¹ Vitovt then changed his tactics: he asked the patriarch to make the appointment, insisting only that Lithuania should have a separate metropolitan.¹² When this request was refused, he ordered the bishops to consecrate Gregory themselves, and this was duly done at Novogorodek in November 1415.¹³

One of the things that emerges from a study of these pages of the Nikon Chronicle is how little they tell us about Gregory Camblak, although he plays a leading role in the events described. We are not told why he was in Kiev or how long he had been there. (This can in fact be inferred from another source). There is no indication of his personal reaction to the situation, or his views on the division of the metropolitanate. Although he was apparently the unanimous choice of the nine Lithuanian bishops,¹⁴ it is clear that as a group they opposed the policy of dividing the Russian metropolitanate;¹⁵ and it seems not unreasonable to conclude that one of their reasons for electing Gregory Camblak was that none of them wished to be involved in a head-on conflict with the metropolitan of All Russia or the

patriarch of Constantinople over this issue. The dominating personality in the events described is Vitovt, but as we have seen, he was prepared to abandon Gregory Camblak if this would help him to get a separate metropolitan for Lithuania;¹⁶ and it was only when this proved impossible that he gave orders for Gregory's consecration. Altogether this is disappointing source material for a would-be biographer of Gregory Camblak, since the impression produced is that he played a very passive role.

The circular letters of Metropolitan Photios and Patriarch Joseph have rather more to say about Gregory Camblak; but the evidence they provide is controversial. Not surprisingly, both Photios and Patriarch Joseph strongly opposed Gregory's consecration as metropolitan of Kiev, and he was excommunicated for accepting this office without the approval of Constantinople.¹⁷ Moreover Photios says in his letter that Gregory was not only excommunicated, but also unfrocked and anathematised for unruly behaviour in front of the Constantinople synod.¹⁸ This, it seems to me, is out of keeping with what we know of Gregory's character (though that is little enough), and should not be accepted without some corroborative evidence.¹⁹ Unfortunately Patriarch Joseph's letter is silent on this point; however it is worth noting that his attitude to Gregory Camblak is at least potentially conciliatory, and indicates that he possibly had some friends and supporters in Constantinople.²⁰ But in general the evidence of these two letters relating to Gregory Camblak as a person (as distinct from the events in which he was involved) is vague and inconclusive.

When we come to examine the sources which describe Gregory's visit to Constance in 1418, a similar situation arises. It would seem that the presence of Gregory Camblak and his suite in Constance made a considerable impression, since his celebration of the Orthodox liturgy

there is accorded a double-page illustration in the illustrated version of Richental's Chronicle.²¹ There were undoubtedly exaggerated rumours of his ecclesiastical status current in Constance,²² possibly fostered by the Polish delegation who were anxious to keep the cause of the reunion of the churches before the attention of the Council.²³ Nevertheless it is clear that Gregory's arrival was an event of some importance: Richental reports that over 300 people, including himself, attended the celebration of the Orthodox liturgy in Gregory's lodgings;²⁴ moreover Gregory was personally presented to the newly elected pope, Martin V, before he preached a sermon to a plenary session of the Council;²⁵ it is interesting to note that all this happened in spite of the fact that he had been excommunicated by the patriarch of Constantinople. However the text of his sermon as reported in Fillastre's Diary (possibly in summarised form) raises problems of interpretation. It is in fact an impassioned plea for the reunion of the Orthodox Church with Rome,²⁶ which seems distinctly surprising coming from a man whose sermons included at least one anti-Latin polemical tract;²⁷ moreover the conversation reported between Gregory and Vitovt in September 1417 before Gregory's departure for Constance scarcely suggests a pro-reunion attitude.²⁸ The difficulty is increased by the existence (in the archives of the former Vilno Public Library) of an unpublished sermon of Gregory Camblak which seems from its content to have been prepared for delivery before the Council of Constance; in this he expresses a much more cautious and non-committal attitude to the question of reunion.²⁹ In spite of certain difficulties arising from the date and title of this manuscript, and the fact that it is extant only in one copy, I am inclined to believe that this was the sermon Gregory intended to preach at Constance, but that when he arrived there he was persuaded to change his mind.³⁰ Once again we are faced with conflicting and ambiguous evidence.

Finally there are the letters of Patriarch Matthew con-

cerning the mission to Moldavia in 1401. The passage in the first letter which is usually considered to relate to Gregory Camblak reads as follows: 'I am sending to you . . . the most honourable among hieromonks, the spiritual father and monk close to my person, Gregory, and the highly-honoured teacher of the Gospel, the deacon Manuel the Archon . . .',³¹ It is true that there is no surname or descriptive label attached to the "Gregory" mentioned here; but it has generally been assumed to refer to Gregory Camblak because of the description of him in the title of the Martyrdom of St. John the New as mnix i prosviter velikija cerkvi moldavovlaxijskoj (monk and presbyter of the Great Church of Moldavowallachia); in the oldest manuscript of the Martyrdom copied by the Moldavian scribe Gavriil Uric in 1438 this is the only description of the author.³² However this somewhat tenuous proof that the Gregory mentioned in the patriarch's letter was in fact Gregory Camblak rests on the assumption that he was the author of the Martyrdom of St. John the New. Recently his authorship has been challenged by P. Nasturel.³³ In my monograph on the career of Gregory Camblak I have examined Nasturel's arguments in detail, and come to the conclusion that although they do raise certain hitherto neglected problems in the text of the Martyrdom, they do not constitute conclusive proof that Gregory Camblak was not the author.³⁴ I therefore accept his authorship, and together with this his identification with the Gregory of the patriarch's letter. This means that we can accept the fact that Gregory began his public career as a special envoy to Moldavia and later became a famous preacher there; and that before that he was in Constantinople, in the personal service of Patriarch Matthew.

We will now turn to the evidence provided by Gregory's own writings. At first sight these are not very helpful, since he says little about himself; it seems that personal reticence was one of his characteristics. Nevertheless a

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a close study of his writings does reveal some interesting glimpses of his personality, as well as adding a little more to the meagre data relating to his career. We can see here his strong, nostalgic attachment to his native city of Turnovo, even many years after he had left it;³⁵ his devotion to the aims and ideals of Patriarch Evtimi and his disciples;³⁶ and his love of nature.³⁷ We also have, in his Life of the Serbian king Stephen Dečanski, at least an indication, if not clear proof, that he had at some time been associated with the Pantocrator Monastery in Constantinople.³⁸ These few gleanings are all the more precious because the other sources tell us so little about him.

Moreover there is one of his writings that does contain some autobiographical elements, namely his eulogy of Metropolitan Kiprian,³⁹ which he delivered in Kiev c. 1409, probably at the request of Vitovt.⁴⁰ At the beginning of this eulogy he says that the year Kiprian died (1406) he was travelling through Lithuania in response to a summons from Kiprian to come and see him in Moscow,⁴¹ but when he reached the River Nieman he heard that Kiprian had died.⁴² Later he says that he remembered Kiprian visiting Turnovo on his way to Constantinople in 1378 when he, Gregory, was still a boy;⁴³ he adds that Kiprian personally gave him his blessing, placing his hands on his head and making some prophecy about his future.⁴⁴ Finally he says in another passage of the eulogy that Kiprian was his father's brother, that is, his uncle.⁴⁵ This is indeed a very important item of information, which, if accepted as authentic, would help to explain the ambiguities of Gregory's career.⁴⁶ But once again we are confronted with the problem of the reliability of the evidence. There is no corroboration of Gregory's statement in any other source; and although it is well known that Kiprian was a Bulgarian and probably a member of a prominent Bulgarian family, he is never mentioned with the surname of Camblak. Nevertheless until fairly recently

the relationship does seem to have been accepted by scholars. However in 1968 Johannes Holthusen suggested (in a paper read to the International Congress of Slavists in Prague) that Gregory's words 'the brother of our father' should be interpreted in a spiritual and not in a literal sense;⁴⁷ and this interpretation is accepted by Obolensky in his masterly study of Kiprian recently published in Dumbarton Oaks Papers.⁴⁸ I must admit that I remain unconvinced by their arguments. A detailed examination of these lies outside the scope of this paper; but I would like to suggest that the inter-connection between the careers of the two men makes their relationship at least a plausible possibility,⁴⁹ and also to point out that when precise factual statements made by Gregory Camblak can be checked from other sources, they usually prove to be accurate.⁵⁰

In conclusion it must be said that the source material available for the study of Gregory Camblak's career is not satisfactory: there is far too much contradiction, ambiguity and uncertainty. Regarded as a dignitary of the Orthodox Church, he remains an elusive and controversial figure.⁵¹ As a writer, however, he merits a different judgment; and it seems to me appropriate to end this paper by quoting the brief obituary of him in the Nikon Chronicle under the year 1419: 'In this year died Gregory Camblak, archbishop of Kiev, a very learned man, well read in books from his childhood. He left many writings of his own, and this was his legacy.'⁵²

NOTES

1. Patriaršaja ili Nikonovskaja letopis', ed. S.F. Platonov (St Petersburg, 1897; reprinted Moscow, 1965), 223-30.
2. Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka, VI (St Petersburg, 1908), No. 39.
3. Ibid., No. 40.
4. Das Konzil zu Konstanz, MCDXIV - MCDXVIII, Faksimileausgabe, Kommentar und Text bearbeitet von Otto Feger, (Starnberg, Konstanz, 1964); English translation: L.R. Loomis, The Council of Constance, ed. and annotated by J.H. Mundy and K.M. Woody, Records of Civilization. Sources and Studies, 63 (New York and London, 1961).
5. See Acta Concilii Constanciensis, ed. H. Finke, J. Hollnsteiner and H. Heimpel, 4 vols. (Münster, 1896-1928). English translation: Loomis, op. cit.
6. Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi, ed. F. Miklosich and J. Müller, II, (Vienna 1862), 529-32.
7. Patriaršaja ili Nikonovskaja letopis', op. cit., 223.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., 224.
10. Ibid.
11. M. Heppell, The Ecclesiastical Career of Gregory Camblak (London, 1979), 58-9.
12. Ibid., 61.
13. Ibid., 62.

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BULGARIAN LITERATURE IN ENGLISH:

THE FIRST BRITISH TRANSLATIONS

If we compare the number of literary works translated from Bulgarian into English, and from Bulgarian into Russian, French, German or Italian, we find that translations into English trail far behind translations into the other languages. Between 1944 and 1962, for example, 26 books were translated from Bulgarian into French, 27 into Italian, 65 into German, a massive 365 into Russian and only 16 into English.¹ If we go back further in time, we find that the picture is not greatly different. For the period between 1823, when the first work of Bulgarian literature appeared in foreign language,² and 1944, 18 Bulgarian works were translated into Italian, 29 into French, 41 into German, 33 into Russian and only a paltry 5 into English. Of these five, two were published in Sofia³ and were therefore events in the cultural life of Bulgaria and not the English-speaking world, and only three were actually translated and published in Britain. These three books, each very different publications and all serious, representative and distinguished works, were presented to the British public within the short

space of twenty years, between 1893 and 1913. The three works were "Under the Yoke",⁴ "The Shade of the Balkans",⁵ and "Pages from the Autobiography of a Bulgarian Insurgent",⁶ and it is with their translation and publication and reception in England that I will primarily be concerned today.

It is fitting, I feel, that "Under the Yoke", the most notable achievement of the founding father of modern Bulgarian literature, Ivan Vazov, should also have been the very first book by a Bulgarian author to have been published in England. Appearing in December 1893, it was also, I feel bound to mention, the first translation into any language of Vazov's heroic novel.⁷ (A second edition by the same publisher appeared in November 1912, shortly after the outbreak of the First Balkan War.) Although the identity of the translator is not indicated in the volume, the person responsible for the very intelligent, faithful and literate rendering, would appear to have been W. R. Morfill,⁸ Reader in Russian at the University of Oxford. In what concerns his knowledge of the culture of the Slavonic peoples Morfill might well be described as a polymath. Not only was he the author of histories of Poland and Russia, but he also wrote on the literature and religion of the Slavs and produced grammars of Russian, Czech, Polish, Serbian, and in 1897, some four years after the English edition of "Under the Yoke"

a short grammar of the Bulgarian language.⁹ (What better way to learn Bulgarian grammar than to immerse oneself in the world of Byala Cherkva!) Both the first and the second edition of Morfill's translation are prefaced by a short but very sympathetic introduction by the literary critic and House of Lords Librarian, Sir Edmund Gosse.¹⁰ Gosse hails the novel as "unquestionably one of the finest romances that Eastern Europe has sent into the West", describing it as "a historical romance, not constructed by an antiquary or imagined by a poet out of vague and insufficient materials saved from a distant past, but recorded by one who lived and fought and suffered through the scenes he sets himself to chronicle. It is like seeing "Old Mortality" written by Morton,"¹¹ he continues, "or finding the autobiography of Ivanhoe."¹² It is history seen through a powerful telescope, with medieval figures crossing and recrossing the seventies of our own discoloured nineteenth century." Both the first and the second edition of the novel were, moreover, greeted by the extremely positive reviews. Whereas James Stanly Little, writing in "The Academy" in March 1894,¹³ was content to see Vazov's novel in purely literary terms, comparing his method with that of "the great Italian naturalistic fictionalist De Amicis",¹⁴ the anonymous critic of the "Times Literary Supplement", writing in November 1912,¹⁵ while comparing Vazov again with Sir Walter Scott, not surpri-

singly sees his work against the background of contemporary events in the Balkans. "The Bulgarian lion is now fully awake", we read, "and the capital of his quondam master is within earshot of his roarings"¹⁶... No one who is impressed by the present feat of arms performed by the Bulgarians can fail to be interested in the pathetic story of what must almost seem to be a distant age, but is really of what happened only forty years ago..." On both occasions the critics appear to have been greatly impressed by the sincerity and truthfulness of Vazov's recreation of the events of the April Uprising - the "Times Literary Supplement" finding one of his chapters more convincing than "whole volumes of histories of crowded blue-books". Literature clearly spoke to the heart, making people out of mere figures and names and establishing a common human bond across the barriers of space, time and political experience.

Zahari Stoyanov's "Pages from the Autobiography of a Bulgarian Insurgent", published in London in 1913, certainly owed its appearance - if not its appeal - in English, like the second edition of "Under the Yoke", as much to political events as to purely literary considerations. The failure of the London Peace talks early in the year and the disastrous Second Balkan War that summer kept Balkan and more specifically Bulgarian matters much in the minds of the British public. The appeal of the book, how-

ever, certainly in the way Stoyanov's material was presented in English, was again personal, emotional and literary rather than political. Although the English version gives M. W. Potter¹⁷ as the "translator", his version of the colourful, circumstantial and undeniably political memoirs, can hardly be called a "translation" - certainly not in the currently accepted definition of the word! It is rather a summary, a version abridged with the English reader specifically in mind. In the well-established tradition of Western European journalism, Potter concentrates on the personal story-line, playing particular attention, for example, to the moving episode of Baba Tonka and omitting the complex details of the organisational network of the pre-1876 revolutionary committees. He also tends to omit, or considerably to shorten, passages given over to detailed descriptions of national and regional customs, thereby avoiding the not inconsiderable difficulty of having to render in English inordinate quantities of untranslatable "realia"! All this has the effect of rendering the memoirs more immediately comprehensible to English-speaking readers. With this in mind, no doubt, Potter also altered the broadly national emphasis of the Bulgarian title to a more personal, intimate one in the English version: "Pages from the Autobiography of a Bulgarian Insurgent". Although in the process of abridgement the story told by Stoyanov loses much in fla-

vour, spice, humour and circumstantial authenticity, one should not, I think, censure Potter unduly for having adopted this approach. He was, after all, addressing the general reader. He was, moreover, addressing people whose palate was unprepared for the sharpness and colour of the Balkan scene, not our present-day historians and ethnographers, constantly on the look-out for some as yet unsavoured regional delicacy! Potter's personalised approach also made the memoirs more akin to literature - eyewitness literature, the literature born of personal experience and seen at a remove through the prism of memory. Like "Under the Yoke", this was literature that was real, human and emotionally accessible.¹⁸

A period of ten years separates the publication of my third work, Henry Baerlein's collection of Bulgarian folksongs and proverbs, "The Shade of the Balkans", from the first edition of "Under the Yoke" and the publication of Potter's rendition of Stoyanov's memoirs. Although in what concerns its content "The Shade of the Balkans" is, on the surface at any rate, the least political of the three works under discussion here, were it not for the Ilinden Uprising of 1903, the collection would never have come into being. The circumstances of its conception and the process of its composition were indeed most original and merit some elaboration. Henry Baerlein the young folklorist¹⁹ and the literary critic Dr. E. J. Dil-

lon²⁰ had been intending to spend the summer of 1903 in Spain, but following the increase of political and military activity in the Slav provinces still under Turkish control, they were called to Sofia. It was there, while awaiting hostilities, that Baerlein chanced to go into the National Library, where he made the acquaintance of Pencho Slaveikov.²¹ If we are to believe Baerlein's account of the meeting, in ten minutes the book had been palnned. Subsequently the selection and initial translation of the bulk of the songs took place in Sofia with the three men meeting regularly for what appear to have been at times very heated discussions. It is also interesting to note that as neither Baerlein nor Dillon understood Bulgarian, Slaveikov initially produced what Baerlein describes as "a discursive and charmingly allusive translation into German" (sic) of each song he proposed for inclusion. If the song passed muster, he later produced a more accurate rendering and, in order that the metre and accentuation might as far as possible be preserved in the eventual English version, he also read various lines in Bulgarian for Baerlein to take down phonetically. Their task was clearly not an easy one. Baerlein himself was well aware of the dangers inherent in attempting to translate the half-lights and subtleties of poetry. "Whenever we come to a passage that was at all reconcite", he writes in his introduction to the volume, "we set about

the conquest of it by means of metaphor and illustrative anecdote and fearless flights of imagination. With the proverbs we had to be more captious, for a large proportion, owing to the centuries of Turkish rule, would fail to gratify even the daughter of Mrs. Grundy."²² The end result of the three men's labours - continued by correspondence after the return of Dillon and Baerlein to England - was an achievement of which they could justly be proud. Baerlein, however, remained acutely conscious of the disparity between the original songs and the translations. "How different these songs appear upon the pages of a book!" he laments. "We capture them and nail them down and wonder why they seem less beautiful. Poor exiles from the people's heart!"

Isolated translations into English of Bulgarian folksongs²³ had, it is true, been published before the appearance of "The Shade of the Balkans", but none of these publications could match Baerlein's work either in scope or in scholarship. Having as its epigraph the Bulgarian proverb "Song has no master", the collection is very fittingly dedicated to that friend of the Slavs Dr. Josip Strossmayer,²⁴ Bishop of Djakovo. In addition to over 100 folksongs, the volume comprises 101 Bulgarian proverbs - all from the two volumes produced by Petko Slaveikov²⁵ at the end of the 19th century - extensive notes, a scholarly essay by Dr. Dillon of over 60 pages on "The Origin

and Language of the Primitive Bulgars" and a fascinating piece of a similar length by Pencho Slaveikov entitled "The Folk Song of the Bulgars". The collection is also noteworthy for its inclusion of a not unsuccessful rendering - the first into English? - of Hristo Botev's poem "Hadji Dimitar", on which Baerlein feels necessary to add a note by way of apology and justification. "This is the most popular of all Bulgarian artistic songs", he writes. "It is the only one in our book of which the author is known, but it has for all intents become a folksong."²⁶ Botev's lament to the dying warrior had so touched the Bulgarian collective subconscious, that the people had already made the poem their own.

Although, as I said at the beginning of my contribution, the volume of translation from Bulgarian into English can hardly be compared with the volume of renderings in the other major European languages, in what concerns quality the three publications briefly outlined here set an example worthy of emulation. In what concerns their content too, they can hardly be faulted, for if one were to select two Bulgarian works written before the First World War for translation into English, one could do worse than choose "Under the Yoke" and Zahari Stoyanov's "Zapiski". And certainly no anthology could express the spirit of the Bulgarian nation better than the collection of folksongs prepared by Baerlein, Dillon and Pencho Slaveikov. The memoirs,

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the novel and the folksongs all have about them the ring of sincerity, truthfulness and deep emotion. They all, like Botev's "hadji Dimitar", form a vital link in the Bulgarian's experience of his common national past and "gain for the things that are dear to him some hospitality in other hearts".²⁷

NOTES

1. The fullest survey of translations from Bulgarian into other languages for the period 1832-1962 is Traikov, V., *Bulgarska hudozhestvena literatura na chouzhdiezi 1832-1962*, prepared by the Elin Pelin Bibliographical Institute and published by Nauka i izkustvo, Sofia, 1964, pp. 378 (18).
2. The folksong "Momiche malo dyavole, ne mi minavai prez dvori..." translated into Czech by Frantisek Celakovsky and published in *Cechoslaw*, 1823, No. 35, p. 278, as "Jakou zamiloval", Traikov, V., *op. cit.*, p. 91: 1271.
3. The two works concerned were Markham, R., *Meet Bulgaria*, Stopansko Razvitie Press, Sofia, 1931, pp. 390, and Stephanove, C., *Apotheosis of Labour*, Haemus, Sofia, 1932, pp. 34. Both were collections of folksongs and proverbs. Traikov, V., *op. cit.*, pp. 164-5: 2810-11.
4. Vazoff, I., *Under the Yoke*. A novel. From the Bulga-

- rian of I. Vazoff. Heinemann's International Library, Vol. 14, London, 1893 (1894), pp. XVII, 324.
5. Baerlein, H., The Shade of the Balkans, being a collection of Bulgarian folksongs and proverbs, here for the first time rendered into English..., David Nutt, London, 1904, pp. 328.
 6. Stoyanov, Z., Pages from the autobiography of a Bulgarian insurgent. Translated by M. W. Potter. Edward Arnold, London, 1913, pp. III, 316.
 7. The English edition was closely followed by a translation into Swedish (Under oket, Hiertas bokförlag, Stockholm, 1894, pp. 368) and into Norwegian (Under tyrkernes Aag, Alb. Cammermeyers Forlag, 1895 (1896), pp. 296. Traikov, op. cit., pp. 240-1: 4306, 4321.
 8. William Richard Morfill (1834-1909) was made Professor of Russian and the other Slavonic Languages at Oxford in 1900 and thus became the first person to occupy a Slavonic Chair at any British university. Although his library of some 4000 books is now housed in the Taylorian Institute in Oxford, all his private papers were, in accordance with his instructions, regrettably destroyed at his death. It has not been possible to establish how he came to learn Bulgarian and what prompted him to translate Vazov's novel into English.
 9. Morfill, W., A short grammar of the Bulgarian Language, 516

with reading lessons. Trübner's Collection of Simplified Grammars, Vol. 23, London, 1897, pp. XV, 108.

10. Sir Edmund Gosse (1849-1928) was a well-known champion of the "smaller" nations, notably Holland and Norway. Although it has not been possible to establish on whose invitation he composed the introduction to "Under the Yoke", his participation in the English edition may not have been unconnected with the publication of the Swedish and Norwegian translations shortly afterwards.

11. The main character in "Old Mortality" (1816), the novel by Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832).

12. Ivanhoe was the hero of Scott's eponymous novel (1819).

13. The Academy, 3.3.1894, No. 1139, p. 186.

14. Edmondo de Amicis (1846-1908).

15. "The Turk in Bulgaria", the "Times Literary Supplement", 28.11.1912, p. 548 b.

16. The Bulgarian armies had reached Chataldja and the Sea of Marmara and had advanced to within 40 km of Constantinople.

17. It has not been possible to obtain any reliable information on Potter, but one source suggests that he was a colleague of the famous "Times" correspondent and friend of things Bulgarian, James Bourchier (1850-1920).

18. The "Times Literary Supplement" reviewer (6.11.1913) had, in fact, drawn a parallel between the historical

and geographical scope of the two works: "One gets the same scenes of oppression and savage revolt. The "under-dog", be he Turk or Bulgarian, suffers keenly", he wrote, with an eye for social as well as national differences, "and the cruelties of the conquerors are matched by those of the conquered".

19. "The Shade of the Balkans" was the first in a long line of publications - mainly on Central and South-East European affairs - by Henry Baerlein (1875-1960). He frequently used the pseudonym "Henry Bernard", and it is thus, in fact, that Pencho Slaveikov refers to him in his essay.

20. Dr. Emile Joseph Dillon (1854-1933) - pseud. E. V. Lannin. Initially having received his training as an Oriental philologist, Dillon made his name as a most influential political journalist, working as a "roving" correspondent for the "Daily Telegraph" (1887-1914). He had fluent command of at least five European languages, including Russian, German, French and Spanish.

21. Pencho Slaveikov (1866-1912) was at the time Director of the National Library.

22. A narrow-minded person who keeps critical watch on the propriety of others - named after Mrs. Grundy, the character in T. Morton's play "Speed the Plough" (1798). Slaveikov's essay on the Bulgarian folksong indicates that Baerlein frequently showed a marked distinction to

include material of what he calls a "grisly" or "unpleasant" nature.

23. These appeared either in general collections, such as the privately published "Characteristic features of Rustic and Slavic Poetry, with specimens, translated by English authors". Selected and published by J. S. C. de Radius, Seyfang and Co., London, 1854, pp. 80, or else in journals, as was the case with certain of the Miladinov brothers' folksongs, which were published in a translation by the biblical scholar Elias Riggs in "The American Presbyterian and Theological Review", New Series, New York, Vol. 1., January 1863, pp. 66-9, Vol. 2, April 1864, pp. 261-76. Traikov, V., op. cit., pp. 163: 2794-5.
24. Strossmayer (1815-1905) played a considerable part in the publication of the Miladinov brothers' folksongs in Zagreb in 1861.
25. Slaveikov, P., Bulgarski pritchi, ili poslovitsi i ha-rakterni doumi subrani ot P. R. Slaveikov, Plovdiv/Sofia, 1889-97.
26. Baerlein, H., op. cit., pp. 252-3.
27. Words used by Slaveikov when explaining the principles guiding him in the selection of Bulgarian folksongs. Baerlein, H., op. cit., p. 47.

С. МЪОНЕСЛАНД
(Норвегия)

НОРВЕЖКИЯТ ПРЕВОД НА "ПОД ИГОТО" ОТ 1895 Г.

Въпреки че България и Норвегия се намират в два противоположни края на Европа и културните връзки между тях в миналото са били незначителни, Норвегия е една от първите страни, в които е било преведено и издадено класическото произведение в българската литература – романът на Иван Вазов "Под игото", само една година след като романът е излязъл като самостоятелна книга в България.

На 7 октомври 1895 г. норвежкия вестник "Верденс ганг" започва да издава в подлистник "Под игото". Либералният ословски вестник "Верденс ганг", основан през 1868 г., е най-големият и най-влиятелен норвежки ежедневник по онова време. На вестника сътрудничат много от най-добрите политически, литературни и научни фигури на страната. За времето е било обичайно норвежките вестници да издават някакъв роман на части, в подлистник, към всеки брой, при това така отпечатан, че текстът да може да се изреже и свърже в книга от самите читатели. На 7 октомври 1895 г. вестникът помещава статия на първа страница, чийто пълен текст е както следва:

"В рубриката "Подлистник с продължение" днес започваме издаването на един роман от българския писател Иван Вазов – "Под игото", към който особено бихме искали да привлечем вниманието на читателите. Повествованието на Иван Вазов се отличава не само с оригинална свежест, която му придава в наши дни едно съвсем необичайно очарова-

ПЪРВИ МЕЖДУНАРОДЕН КОНГРЕС ПО БЪГАРИСТИКА

СОФИЯ 23 МАЙ - 3 ЮНИ 1981



ДОКЛАДИ

БЪЛГАРСКАТА ДЪРЖАВА ПРЕЗ ВЕКОВЕТЕ

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БЪЛГАРИЯ В МЕЖДУНАРОДНИТЕ
ОТНОШЕНИЯ СЛЕД 1878 ГОДИНА

СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКА
БЪЛГАРИЯ

БЪЛГАРСКА АКАДЕМИЯ НА НАУКИТЕ

СОФИЯ 1982

ПЪРВИ МЕЖДУНАРОДЕН КОНГРЕС ПО БЪЛГАРИСТИКА

София, 23 май – 3 юни 1981 г.

ДОКЛАДИ

ГЛАВНА РЕДАКЦИЯ: акад.Пантелей ЗАРЕВ, акад.Димитър КОСЕВ,
акад.Владимир ГЕОРГИЕВ акад.**Емил ГЕОРГИЕВ**,
чл.кор.Атанас СТОЙКОВ, проф.Крумка ШАРОВА,
проф.Михаил БЪЧВАРОВ

СЕКРЕТАРИ: Вяра СМІЛКОВА, Валери КАЦУНОВ

БЪЛГАРСКАТА ДЪРЖАВА ПРЕЗ ВЕКОВЕТЕ

БЪЛГАРИЯ В МЕЖДУНАРОДНИТЕ ОТНОШЕНИЯ СЛЕД 1878 ГОДИНА

РЕДАКЦИЯ: проф.д-р Цветана ТОДОРОВА

СЕКРЕТАР: Валери КАЦУНОВ

СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКА БЪЛГАРИЯ

РЕДАКЦИЯ: проф.д-р Мито ИСУСОВ

СЕКРЕТАР: Валери КАЦУНОВ

D. KITSIKIS

(Canada)

BULGARIA IN BALKAN HISTORY
BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS ¹

1. Bulgaria as a Balkan country.

A common mistake is to look at a country as being at the periphery of a political, military, economic or social entity. No country is at the periphery. On the contrary, each nation constitutes a center and to understand correctly any nation, one has to see it as a center around which there is a periphery.

Most scholars in North America look at Bulgaria as being the periphery of this or that entity. Broadly speaking these scholars can be divided into two categories. On the one hand one has the specialists of communist affairs. For these specialists, Rumania, Yugoslavia or Bulgaria, are not interesting in themselves. What interests them is that these countries are communist. And because in Eastern Europe the center of the communist world is the Soviet Union, they look at Bulgaria as being at the periphery of the communist world.

On the other hand, one has the specialists of Slavic Studies. What interest these people is the slavic world. Because Russia is the most important of the Slavic

nations, Russia is the center and Bulgaria again becomes the periphery. Because many of these specialists know that it is rather difficult to understand Bulgaria without its neighbouring countries, they boldly include in the category of Slavic studies, such non slavic countries as Rumania, Albania, Greece and Turkey.

In fact, Bulgaria as a nation, is a center and its periphery are the Balkan nations. To understand the Balkans as a whole and so to understand Bulgaria, all peripheral approaches are inadequate. To center on the communist system is inadequate. Bulgaria exists for 1300 years and it has become communist only after the second world war. To center on slavism is inadequate. First one has to take into account the non slavic origins of the Bulgarian nation, and second the Bulgarians have always lived in very close contact, and mixed, with the non slavic elements in the Balkans. To center on Orthodox christianity is inadequate. For the last five hundred years, the Bulgarians have been part of the Ottoman Empire. Muslim religion spread not only in Bulgaria but also in Greece, Albania and Yugoslavia. The Balkans were and still are today partially Muslim. To center on anti-Turkism is inadequate. During the Ottoman Empire, the Greek ruling class was as much an oppressor of the Bulgarian people as was the Turkish ruling class. To center in foreign policy on Bulgaria being the natural ally of Russia is inadequate.

The Bulgarian ruling class has been in the past pro-German and pro-Italian and in the two world wars has taken sides with the enemies of Russia. To center on Europe is inadequate. If Europe is Western civilization and if what made Europe were the three basic revolutions of the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Industrial Revolution, then Bulgaria is not Europe, except geographically speaking and the whole of the Balkans are not Europe, including Greece. Moreover, up to the second world war Bulgaria, like all the Balkan countries was socially and economically a Third World country, that is to say an underdeveloped country.

The only permanent reality of Bulgaria is the Balkans. And the Balkans are made up of six countries: Turkey, Greece, Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Rumania. Some specialists have excluded Rumania from the Balkan ensemble as being closer to central Europe. Others have excluded Turkey as being closer to Asia. Others have put, for pure political reasons, Greece and Turkey in the category of Atlantic countries. Others have taken as center the Mediterranean Sea and have excluded the Balkan countries which do not have an outlet on this sea. Others again have taken as center the river Danube and have excluded the Balkan countries which are not Danubian. The Balkans have also been put into pieces by scholars and politicians using such inadequate divisions as Central Europe, South Eastern Europe,

Near East or even Middle East. But, I repeat: the only permanent reality throughout history of the Balkan people are the Balkans which are not in Europe, nor in Asia, but on the one continent Eurasia.

2. Bulgaria and the main trends of World History in 1919.

At the end of the First World War, capitalist imperialism was at its peak. The last political remnants of feudalism in Western Europe had been defeated. These remnants were the so-called "authoritarian Governments" of the two Empires of Germany and Austria-Hungary. The so-called "Parliamentary Governments" of France and Great Britain had triumphed and imposed, first the ideology of capitalism, i.e. liberalism, on the whole of Europe and, second, its imperialist counterpart, colonialism, all over the world. American neo-colonialism, with its economic policy of the "open door" and its institutional policy of "national self-determination", as expressed by President Woodrow Wilson, had been affirmed in 1919, but had to wait until after the end of the Second World War to triumph.

On this one continent of Europe and Asia, i.e. Eurasia, the three big Empires of the Third World: the Empire of Russia, the Ottoman Empire and the Empire of China, also collapsed under the world wide pressure of Westernization. The crowns of Petrograd, of Istanbul and of Peking were shattered. China and Turkey will try the path of capita-

list liberalism but having no social basis for such a grand bourgeois regime, both will very quickly slip towards a Third World petit bourgeois national socialism. Even though Russia was also underdeveloped, this country will make a great leap and pass almost directly from feudal autocracy to a workers communist regime.

So, in 1919, the principal actors of the 20th century World History appeared on the stage, together with the three big ideologies of our time, liberalism, communism and national socialism. In the West, Anglo-French liberal colonialism and American liberal neo-colonialism. In the Third World, Russian communism and Chinese and Turkish petit-bourgeois national socialism.

Bulgaria, a semi-feudal society at that time, had sided during the first world war with the Central Powers of Germany, Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire, and against Russia. She was defeated, along with these Central Powers.

In 1919, the victors imposed on the vanquished the rule of Might. The victors (the so-called Allies) gathered in Paris, at a Peace Conference, and in the absence of the vanquished (the so-called Central Powers) prepared the peace treaties. These treaties were handed over to the vanquished which were not allowed to discuss the clauses. If they refused to sign the treaties imposed on them, then war would start again. But this, the Central Powers could not afford, because they had just been

vanquished. So, Bulgaria, one of them was obliged to sign the Treaty of Neuilly, on November 27, 1919. It is quite natural, that Bulgaria, like Germany, become during the interwar period a revisionist country, struggling to revise the treaty of peace imposed on her.

3. Bulgaria and Balkan Federation between the two World Wars.

Today the newly independent African countries have tried unsuccessfully to unite into federations in order to better defend themselves against neo-colonialism. In the interwar years, the newly independent Balkan countries, tried unsuccessfully to unite into a federation in order to defend themselves against Western imperialism. Bulgaria had become nominally fully independent on October 5, 1908. During these interwar years throughout the Balkans, a popular slogan was "The Balkans to the Balkan Peoples".

The people of the Balkans have a common civilization which unite them. But on the other hand, each of these countries possess a strong and proud personality which makes difficult for them to achieve unity. In this sense the Balkans can be compared to Western Europe built around Italy, France, England and Germany. The Balkans are an entity in the sense that Western Europe is an entity. But what makes a Balkan Union even more difficult than a West European Union, is the fact that the Balkan countries

have been under the constant divisive pressures of Western imperialism.

The term "Balkanization" is very eloquent. It implies the fragmentation of an entity due to evil forces. In the interwar period the Balkans had been compared to a chessboard, the Great Powers being the players. The Balkan reality was understood by no one in the West and even less by the social science specialists who were put off by the many languages spoken in a relatively small area of the globe. It was a typical colonial attitude of specialists who saw the Balkans as at the periphery of the Great Powers instead of studying the Balkans as a center, that is from within.

On their side all the Balkan peoples thought that a Balkan Union was desirable but were fatalistic about the outcome. A typical reaction was that of a Bulgarian deputy during a debate on foreign policy in the Bulgarian parliament in 1933, when he stood up saying that in his opinion, the formula "the Balkans to the Balkan peoples" was not feasible because never would it be possible to stop the intervention of the Great Powers in the Balkan affairs.²

Because Bulgaria had been defeated and was thus a revisionist country, France in her constant efforts to preserve the status quo imposed by the peace treaties in 1919, was trying to isolate this country, to imprison it

into a ring of pacts. France's pactomania was well known in the interwar period, as a means to preserve the quite fragile hegemony she had gained over Europe at the end of the First World War. That is why, the Bulgarian prime minister Musanov, at the beginning of 1934, declared: "I am against pactomania. I am a pactophobe".³

I shall now give you an example of how Bulgaria was isolated in the Balkans by the Great Power game, even though the Balkan States wished to bring Bulgaria into a Balkan Union.

At the end of 1931, Turkey who had good relations with Bulgaria tried to bring together Greece and Bulgaria. A year earlier, in 1930, Turkey and Greece had become friends and had put up a Turkish-Greek Entente. Turkey's aim was to achieve a Bulgarian-Greek-Turkish group which would afterwards broaden itself into a Balkan Union of all six Balkan countries. England and Italy supported the Turkish project but France was absolutely against it. What France wanted instead was to bring Bulgaria close to Yugoslavia in order to include Bulgaria into the French machinery of the Little Entente. The Little Entente comprised Yugoslavia, Rumania and a non Balkan State, Czechoslovakia.

Greece accepted the Turkish idea. But France pressed Turkey to sign immediately a treaty with Yugoslavia. Turkey refused and answered that the first thing to achieve was the signature of a treaty between Bulgaria

and Greece.

On December 2, 1931, prime minister of Bulgaria, Musanov, arrived in Ankara for talks with the Turkish leaders and the Greek minister in Ankara, in order to achieve the Bulgarian-Greek rapprochement with the help of Turkey. Yugoslavia being a French client, menaced Musanov to counteract if he went to Turkey. Then Kemal, the president of Turkey, said to Mosanov not to be afraid and that if Bulgaria's independence was threatened by Yugoslavia, Turkey would come to the side of Bulgaria. So Musanov went to Ankara and France immediately, in order to express her dissatisfaction, cancelled an order she had made of 8,000 wagons of Bulgarian wheat to be sent to her Tunisian protectorate.⁴

Musanov was greatly impressed by the friendly demonstrations on his behalf of the Greek community of Istanbul. He said he would like to establish as close a friendship with Greece, as the one established the year before between Turkey and Greece. The Soviet Union was in favor of such a Bulgarian-Greek rapprochement, in order to counterbalance the pro-French Little Entente pressure upon the Balkans.

However the French pressures on Bulgaria were so heavy that the Bulgarian-Greek-Turkish alliance could not be achieved. Instead King Boris III of Bulgaria was summoned to the Western capitals and he visited Paris and

London in the first half of September 1933. The French told him in Paris that if he did not ally himself with Yugoslavia, Bulgaria would not get an important French loan. So, on his way back, King Boris stopped on September 18, his train in the Belgrade station, met with King Alexander of Yugoslavia, and decided not to continue Bulgarian efforts of a rapprochement with Turkey and Greece. In the meantime, France had persuaded England that a possible compromise between the French and the English positions in the Balkans, could consist in including Bulgaria into a Balkan Pact in which, not only Yugoslavia, but also Greece and Turkey would be present. Such a Balkan Pact would have a double advantage. First, it would include Turkey into a Western inspired Pact and thus drive this country away from the Soviet Union and second, it would include Bulgaria and thus limit French influence in this Pact.

But in fact, the French game was much more subtle than it appeared. France in 1933-1934 completely deceived Bulgaria. First Paris did everything possible to stop Bulgaria into entering an alliance with Turkey and Greece by promising her to include her in the Balkan Pact and then, when in February 1934 the Balkan Pact was signed between Yugoslavia, Rumania (both pro-French), Greece and Turkey, all of a sudden Bulgaria was excluded from the pact, a fact which made London furious.

By pushing Bulgaria to come to an agreement with

Yugoslavia, France not only succeeded in preventing the Bulgarian-Greek-Turkish rapprochement but also succeeded in scaring Greece and Turkey of a possible exclusive alliance between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and persuade them that it was in their interest to enter into a Balkan Pact with Yugoslavia and Rumania that would exclude Bulgaria.

As for the king of Yugoslavia, he had become accustomed with the idea of a Yugoslav-Bulgarian alliance and France had then to hurry, putting up the Balkan Pact before the Yugoslav government took too seriously its illusions. A top secret diplomatic telegramme of 1934, informs us that "the king of Yugoslavia, a few days before the signature of the Balkan Pact had invited for supper the ministers of England and the United States. He told them openly that he was opposed to the Balkan Pact and that in his opinion, the efforts of Yugoslavia should at this time mainly concentrate on solving its differences with Bulgaria. But later, he declared to these two ministers that after a careful study of the Pact, he had arrived to the conclusion that its signing would not be detrimental to Yugoslavia. This sudden change is attributed to a French intervention".⁵

Thus Bulgaria had been utilized for the sake of a pact which excluded her and was turned against her. She was isolated and encircled.

4. Contradiction between the pro-Axis stand of the king of Bulgaria and the pro-Russian stand of the Bulgarian People.

In the interwar years and up to the middle of the 1930s, the two big powers that conflicted over the Balkans were France and Italy. Only in the second half of the 1930s did England and Germany replace France and Italy for supremacy in this area.

The two main clients of Italy in the Balkans were Albania and Bulgaria as opposed to the two main clients of France, Rumania and Yugoslavia. In a conversation, the King of Bulgaria, Boris III, had in Berlin, on March 1, 1934 with the German minister of Foreign Affairs, von Neurath. Boris said that he was fed up of being treated by Mussolini as a mere instrument of the Italian policy against Yugoslavia.⁶ Boris's wife was a princess of the reigning Italian family of King Vittorio-Emmanuele III. In fact this complaint of Boris to the Germans, was meant not of repelling Italian influence but of adding German support to the already Italian one.

On december 13, 1940, Hitler in his capacity of supreme commander of the German Army, signed operation "Marita" of invasion of Greece. But to invade Greece, the German Army had to cross Bulgaria. Already Germany had occupied Rumania on October 11, 1940. So before signing operation "Marita", Hitler, on November 12, received in

Berlin, the Soviet prime minister and minister of Foreign Affairs, Molotov. Hitler asked Molotov to let the German troops enter Bulgaria. Molotov not only refused but menaced Hitler that the Soviet Union would try to come to a direct agreement with Bulgaria even if such a Bulgarian-Soviet agreement displeased Germany.

Then, immediately afterwards, on November 18, 1940, Hitler asked King Boris of Bulgaria to come to see him. Hitler told him that he wanted to enter with his troops in Bulgaria, in order, with the help of the Bulgarians, to attack Greece. Boris, as a pro-German was not against the idea but asked him not to proceed before March 1941. He also agreed to sign the German-Italian-Japanese Tripartite Pact of September 27, 1940, but only the day before the entering of the German troops on Bulgarian soil.

Why was the King of Bulgaria so prudent to the point of displeasing Hitler? Because he knew very well that the Bulgarian people were not pro-German but pro-Russian. A proof of this was given when a few days later, the Soviet Government proposed to the Bulgarian government to sign a Bulgarian-Soviet Pact of Mutual Assistance. As soon as these news were known to the Bulgarian people it created in Bulgaria a big movement in favor of the Soviet Union. The Greek minister in Sofia, in December 1940, cabled to his government, that this Soviet proposal have

had in Bulgaria "an enormous echo to the point that from all quarters the king is flooded with recommendations to accept the proposal. The Russian friendship has been stimulated to such a point... that the friends of Great Britain (in Bulgaria) are worried, being afraid that the scales might lean heavily in favor of Russia".⁷

Hitler pressed hard on King Boris and finally Boris agreed to authorize, already by the end of November 1940, special units of the German army to penetrate in Bulgaria secretly, wearing civil clothes, in order to set up, on the Bulgarian-Greek border, an anti-aircraft system of alert to prevent the eventuality of British air attacks from Greece against the oil wells of Rumania.

The gap between the King and his people was such that even in the governmental circles of Sofia there was opposition to Germany. Thus, during a debate in the Bulgarian Parliament, the "Sobranie", on January 22, 1941, on the occasion of the discussion of a bill approving a German-Bulgarian convention for the creation factories of sulphuric acid in Bulgaria, a government deputy rose to violently criticize the convention. He said Bulgaria wanted to remain independent and not bow to a German economic protectorate. The deputies of the majority applauded this criticism and finally the bill did not pass.⁸

But the king of Bulgaria was determined to collaborate with Germany. So, on March 1, 1941, his prime mi-

nister Bogdan Filov, signed in Vienna the Berlin tripartite Pact of September 27, 1940. Bulgaria became the seventh member of this Pact along with Germany, Italy, Japan, Hungary, Rumania and Slovakia. At the same moment King Boris authorized the German troops to enter officially in Bulgaria and on April 6, 1941, Greece was invaded.⁹

NOTES

1. Paper based on the unpublished archives of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, presented at the 1st Congress on Bulgarian Studies, Sofia, May 23 - June 3, 1981.
2. Les Balkans, vol. IV, No. 10, July 1933, p. 278.
3. Ministère (Français) des Affaires Etrangères, Bulletin périodique de la presse yougoslave, No. 114, February 16 to April 20, 1934, p. 8.
4. Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece, Sofia, December 18, 1931, telegramme No. 17123/A/3.
5. Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece, Washington, May 25, 1934, telegramme No. 1406, secret.
6. Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945, Series C (1933-1937), vol. II, p. 548.
7. Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece, Athens, December 15, 1940, No. 37894.

8. Ibid., Athens, January 25, 1941, No. 2770.

9. For a more detailed account on the subject of this paper, see my two studies, based on the unpublished archives of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Les projets d'entente balkanique, 1930-1934, Revue historique, Paris, janvier-mars 1969, pp. 115-140 and Informations et discours: la Grèce face à l'invasion allemande dans les Balkans, 1940-1941, pp. 181-209 in La Guerre en Méditerranée, Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (C. N. R. S.), 1971.

разчиташе на стремежа на царя да избегне участие във войната, на неверието му в окончателната германска победа и на тактиката му да протака и лавира. В края на краищата и тази надежда остана напразна. След присъединяването към пакта, английската дипломация се опита да си обясни причините за решението на царя. В характера му се откри едното от тях: нерешителността, страхът от смели действия, хитруванията са го направили безпомощен в обстановка, когато са се налагали решителност, смелост и категоричност. На второ място – антикомунизмът и антисъветизмът на българския монарх. Страхът от болшевизма – така Рендел определяше един от главните мотиви, определящи политиката на Борис III през цялото му царуване. И на пресконференцията, след окончателното си завръщане в Лондон, на въпроса: защо цар Борис застана на страната на Германия, Рендел отговори лаконично: Страхът от Русия.

В края на краищата, английските усилия за предотвратяване участието на България в Тристранния пакт завършиха с провал. Единственият резултат от тях бе, че те оказваха известно влияние върху правителството, което се боеше от военни действия върху българска територия, от английски бомбардировки и неуверено в крайната германска победа – от отмъщението на Англия след войната. Ето защо и със заплахите от Лондон, то оправдаваше политиката си на протакане и се стараеше да излезе така, че е отстъпило накрая против волята си, пред непреодолимия германски натиск.

F. CHARY

(USA)

GEORGE EARLE IN SOFIA

George H. Earle was Washington's minister plenipotentiary to Sofia from February 1940 until the declaration of war against the United States by Bogdan Filov's government in December 1941. Earle was born in Devon, Pennsylvania, outside Philadelphia, 5 December 1890, and graduated from Harvard University in 1906. Earle's early career was an association with his family's sugar mill, but he served as a naval officer during World War I. In 1933 he began his diplomatic and political career. As a Democrat from Pennsylvania, he was something of an oddity, since both his class and region would have led him to be associated rather with the Republican Party. However, his political fate was to be linked to another wealthy Democrat from the Northeast, his friend Franklin Roosevelt.¹

Earle served as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in the American embassy at Vienna in 1933-34, returning home to run for election as governor of Pennsylvania.² His victory marked the first time a Democratic candidate had won that post in forty four years. In part the victory was undoubtedly due to the success and popularity of the "New Deal" of President Roosevelt, but for his

part Earle helped Roosevelt carry Pennsylvania in his landslide of 1936 - the first time a Democratic presidential candidate had won the state since the Civil War. Earle was an unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate in 1938, and was ineligible to run again for governor because of the provisions of Pennsylvania's constitution. Thus when he left office in 1939, he was without position. President Roosevelt rewarded him for his service by appointing him Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Bulgaria.

When Earle assumed his post in Sofia, World War II had already begun in Europe, and Washington's public position was one of friendly neutrality toward England and France. Earle regarded his assignment as one of trying to persuade Bulgaria to remain neutral and outside the German camp.³ His first dispatches to the State Department concerned the recent change in government which brought about the first cabinet of Bogdan Filov, as well as information about the parliamentary debates focussing on the Speech from the Throne of 22 March 1940.⁴ However, through most of 1940 the American embassy concerned itself with rather routine matters - cultural and commercial interests, protecting the copyrights of American film companies in Bulgaria, collecting bills of firms doing business with Bulgarian customers, and reporting on the events of the day.⁵

Political concerns became of paramount importance in the fall of 1940 as the war approached the Balkans. On 2 October 1940, Earle sent home a report of current events in which he described King Boris III as one who was determined to be neutral but under great pro-German pressure from his military high command; sections of the foreign office, particularly Purvan Draganov, then Bulgarian ambassador to Germany; and members of the royal family, including his brother and sisters and his father, the former king Ferdinand, resident in Germany. Earle characterized the great mass of peasants and workers as pro-Russian.⁶

Other events indicated to Earle that the Filov government was turning rapidly to Berlin. He put much stock in the opinion of Walter Duranty, former "New York Times" foreign correspondent, who believed that this was inevitable.⁷ Earle interpreted the anti-Semitic legislation, which the government introduced into the country for the first time, as a product of German pressure. He said of the Law for Protection of the Nation, "This is, of course, an effort of the government to placate Germany and represents the continuance of the present compulsory slide toward the Axis."⁸ Minister Earle believed erroneously that the king was not yet committed to the Third Reich and asked President Roosevelt, whom he said Boris admired, to send the king a congratulatory letter on the anniversary of his ascension to the throne, in the vain hope that this might

have an effect on keeping the kingdom neutral.⁹

In January 1941 Prime Minister Filov made an important speech at Ruse on Bulgarian foreign policy, rejecting foreign ideologies for Bulgaria including National Socialism, Fascism, and Bolshevism. Earle reported the contents of the speech as well as the rumor that it was a costly political mistake by Filov. The American minister did not believe the latter, but reluctantly thought the king was behind it and believed the purpose was either to reject Soviet friendship offers at the time, including statements against the Axis so as not to appear one-sided; or to make it appear that a German occupation or march through the country (which indeed was about to occur) was forced on Sofia rather than accepted willingly.¹⁰

The next month when Minister of Agriculture Ivan Bagrianov was forced out of power after attempting to build an anti-government agrarian following, Earle reflected the confused contemporary Western opinion when he reported to the State Department that the pro-German Bagrianov was dismissed either because the king thought him too prominent or that his dismissal was simply a ploy and that he would soon return as prime minister.¹¹

After Bulgaria joined the Three-Power Pact on 1 March 1941 and the British ambassador, Sir George Rendel, left Sofia; Earle remained as a major anti-Axis voice in the country. The American embassy looked after the inte-

rests of Britain and countries which were conquered by the "Wermacht".¹² Earle's reports to the State Department commented with bitterness on the political events in the country. He also noted the resistance activities which began in the summer of 1941.¹³

Earle's reports to Washington were couched in blunt and frank language with a touch of naivete. For example he summed up his opinion of the special tax on Jews of July 1941 by calling it "pure discriminatory confiscation".¹⁴ In the middle of the furious political activity of the fall of 1940, he congratulated President Roosevelt on his electoral victory for an unprecedented third term with a brief message that concluded "I am the happiest man in Bulgaria".¹⁵ His flamboyant and extroverted personality was the gossip of polite Sofia society and scandalized the diplomatic community. His British counterpart, Rendel, reports in his memoirs that Earle bought a African cheetah from the Belgrade zoo, which he kept on a leash in his apartment as a household pet.¹⁶ His association with the habitués of the Sofia night clubs ruptured his marriage. His wife unexpectedly left him during his term of service, causing many problems for his protocol officer.¹⁷ His most celebrated extra-curricular activity occurred in March of 1941 when German troops were already present in the Bulgarian capital. Minister Earle would habitually tip the hands in the night clubs he frequented to play the popu-

lar British war song, "Its a Long Way to Tipperary". On one occasion a German officer, shouting that they did not want anti-German music there, threw a bottle at him. Earle avoided the blow but retaliated in kind, injuring the officer and causing an international incident.¹⁸

Despite such outrageous behavior, his sincere anti-fascism earned him supporters as well as detractors. In the final analysis Earle was able to do little to dissuade Sofia from entering into the disastrous alliance with the Axis. However, since even a more experienced and wiser diplomat would probably have failed as well, we cannot attribute his lack of success to his naivité and undiplomatic behavior. On 13 December 1941, Sofia declared "symbolic war" with Washington and shortly thereafter Earle with the rest of the American community left the country.¹⁹

Earle spent the war years as the assistant naval attaché at the American legation in Istanbul; in fact he was engaged in analyzing intelligence reports concerning Bulgaria. After the war he held several other political posts until his retirement.²⁰ He died in 1974. His service in Sofia, although only a brief period of his career, represents an important link in the chain of American-Bulgarian relations over the past century.

N O T E S

1. For Earle's career see "Who's Who in America", vol. 28 (1954-1955) s. v. Earle, George Howard.
2. Ibid.
3. For Earle's diplomatic correspondence see U. S. Department of State, Archives, Decimal File for 1940-1941, chiefly 874 - "Bulgaria", National Archives and Records Service (hereafter NARS, State, Dec. File) and Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers (hereafter FRUS), 1940-1941.
4. Earle to Secretary of State, Sofia, 22 March 1940, NARS, State, Dec. File, 874.00/620.
5. See for example, Ibid., 20 August 1940. This and other routine correspondence are located in U. S. Department of State, Record Group 84, Records of the Foreign Service Posts (hereafter NARS, State, RG 84), Sofia, 1940-1941, 10 volumes located in the National Archives.
6. Ibid., 21 October 1940, NARS, State, Dec. File, 874.00/621.
7. Ibid., 8 October 1940, 874.00/622.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., 20 October 1940, 874.001B64/94.
10. Ibid., 12 January 1941, 874.00/626; 13 January 1941, 874.00/627; 14 January 1941, 874.00/630.
11. Ibid., 4 February 1941, 874.00/629; 8 February 1941,

874.00/631.

12. For example Ibid., 16 July 1941, 641.7431/9; 15 January 1941, 874.674/38.
13. Ibid., 15 March 1941, 740.0011/9056 (File 740 is entitled "European War 1939"); 25 August 1941, 740.0011/14321; 8 September 1941, 874.00/640; 20 September 1941, 740.0011/152551; 10 October 1941, 874.00/643; and 11 November 1941, 874.00/646.
14. Ibid., 20 July 1941, 874.4016/59.
15. Ibid., 6 November 1940, NARS, State, RG 84.
16. Sir George Rendel, *The Sword and the Olive: Recollections of Diplomacy and the Foreign Service 1913-1954*, London, John Murray, 1957, p. 172; C. L. Sulzberger, *A Long Row of Candles: Memoirs and Diaries /1934-1954/*, Toronto, Macmillan, 1969, pp. 111-112.
17. H. M. (Hugh Millard, chargé d'affaires), Memorandum. 15 January 1941, NARS, State, RG 84.
18. Rendel, 173; Sulzberger, 112.
19. FRUS, 1942, vol. 2, p. 833.
20. "Who's Who", s. v. Earle.

